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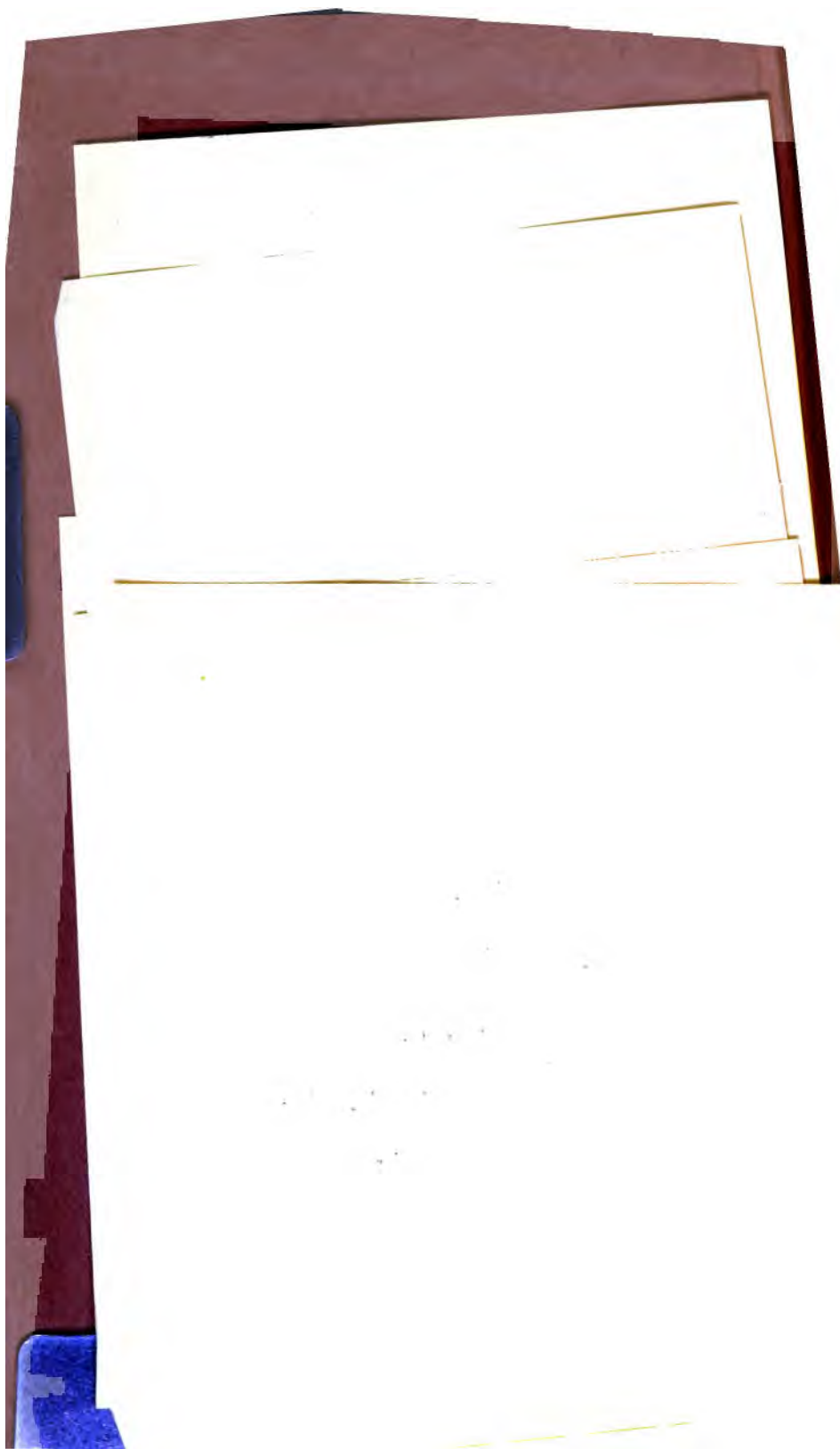
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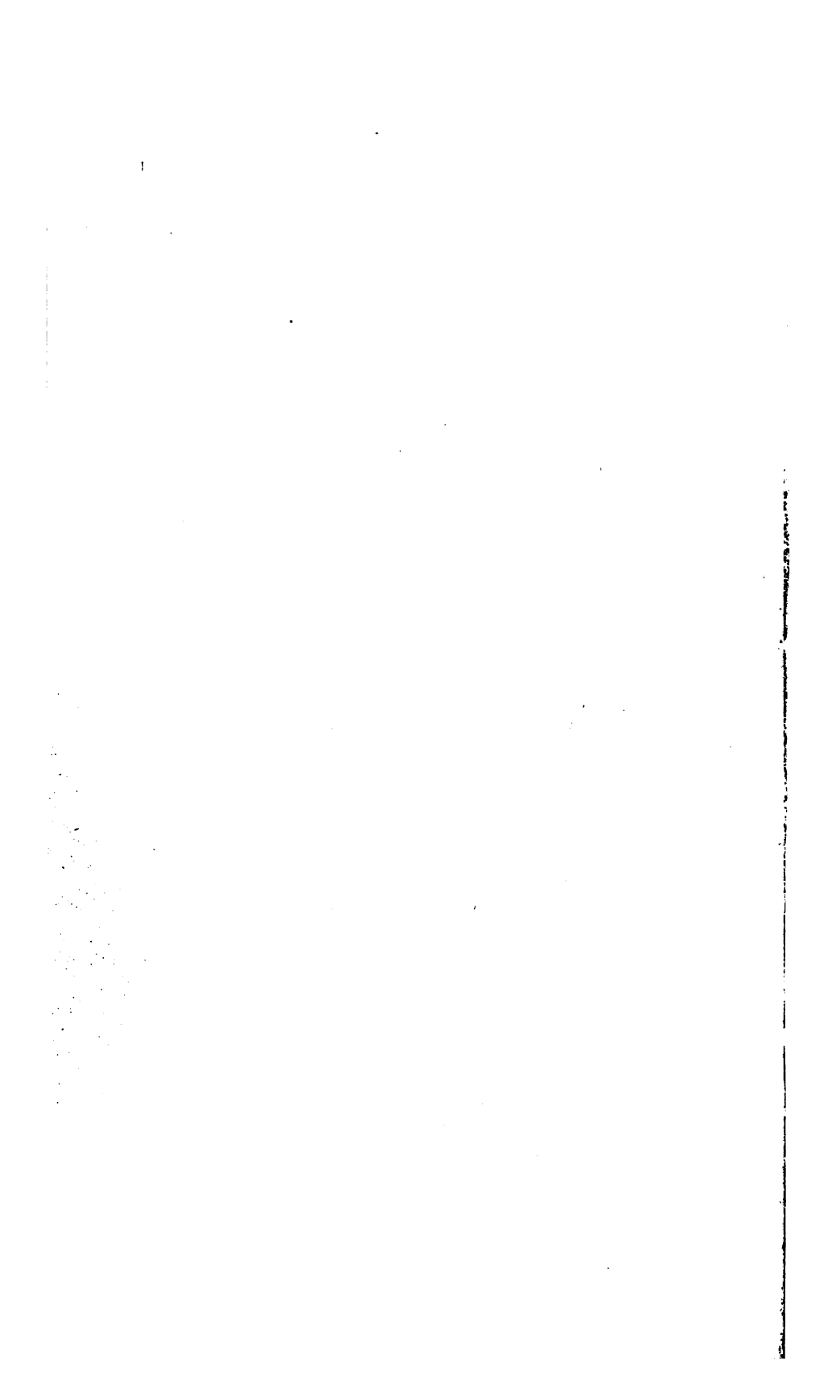
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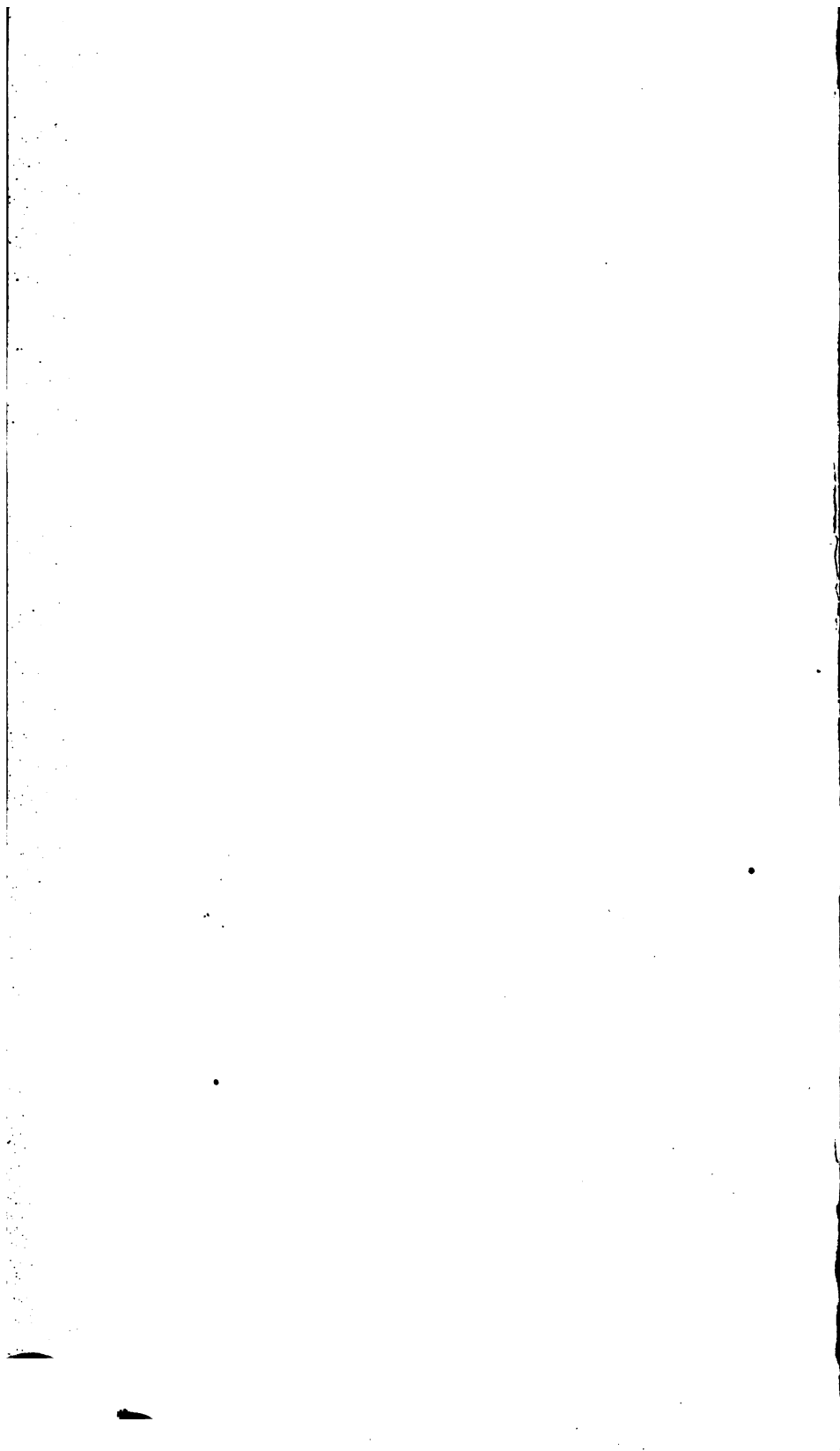
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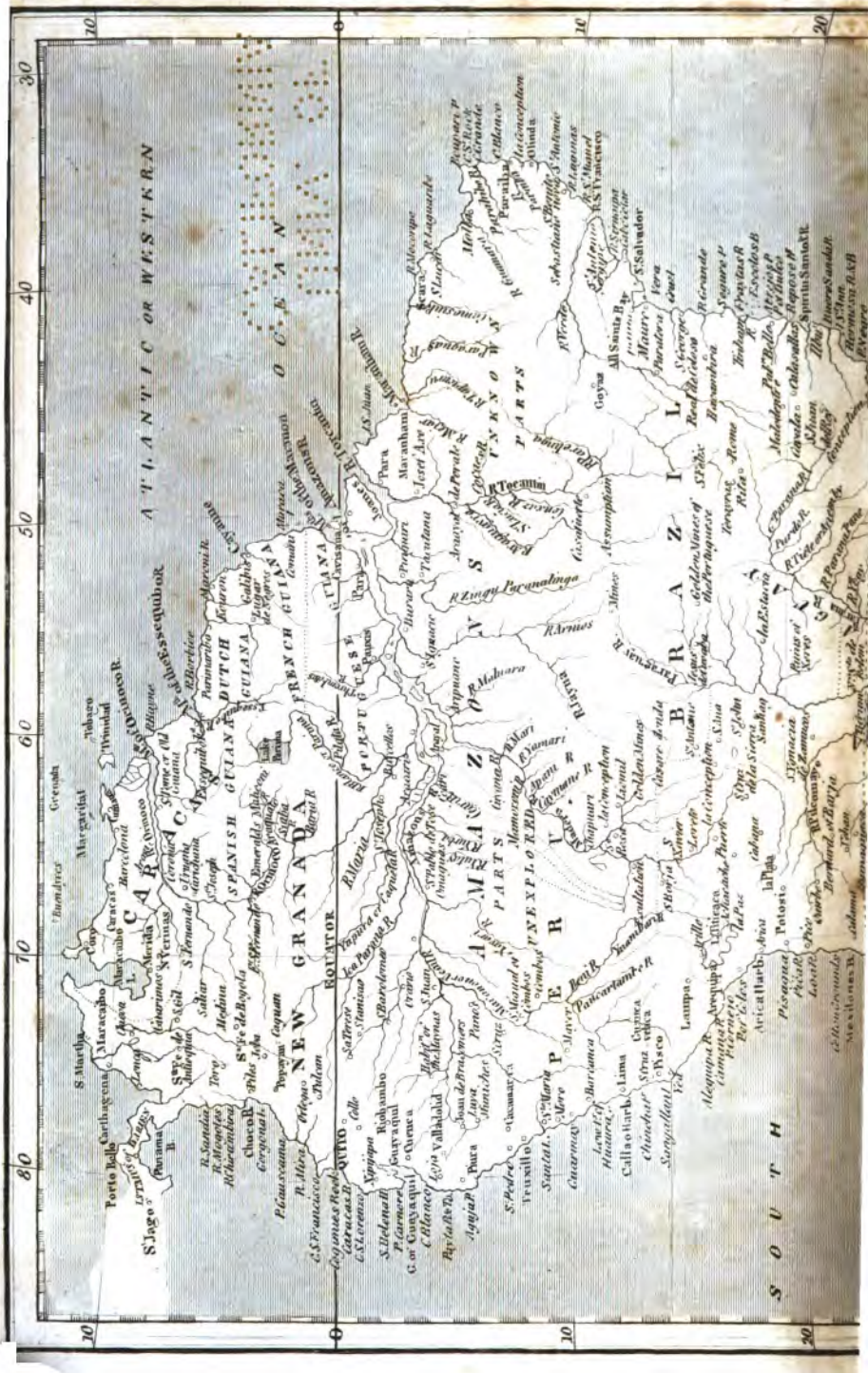
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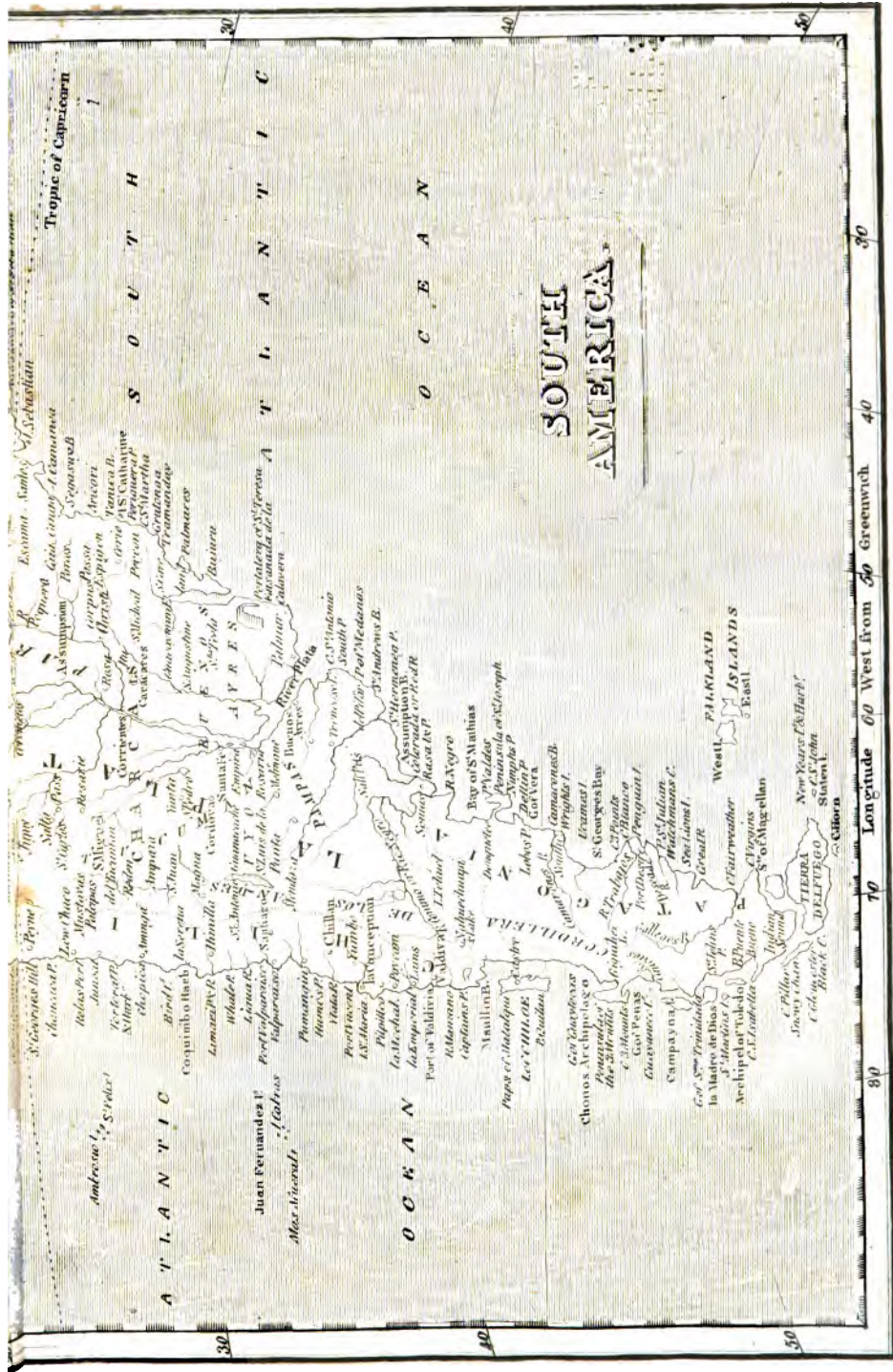
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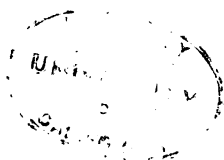
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THE



Alston
• GLEANINGS AND REMARKS:

COLLECTED

DURING MANY MONTHS OF RESIDENCE

AT

BUENOS AYRES,

AND

WITHIN THE UPPER COUNTRY;

WITH A

PREFATORY ACCOUNT

OF THE

EXPEDITION FROM ENGLAND,

UNTIL THE

Surrender of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,

UNDER THE JOINT COMMAND OF

SIR D. BAIRD, G.C.B. K.C. AND SIR HOME POPHAM, K.C.B.

BY MAJOR ALEXANDER GILLESPIE,

Now upon the Full-Pay retired List of the Royal Marines.

Illustrated with a Map of South America, and a Chart of Rio de la Plata, with pilotage
Directions.

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INTRODUCTION.



The military traveller whom professional destiny throws amongst the different quarters of the globe, may be justly compared to the giddy and fortuitous stranger, who visits an extensive museum, where he admires every thing, but examines into nothing.

Assuming this simile to himself, the Author of the following Narrative has aptly preferred the humble title of "a Gleaner," to a higher name, upon taking a review of the luxuriant fields through which he has wandered, and when looking at the scanty gatherings he has to offer from them. But such as they are, he has spread them out to be winnowed by the winds, in the hope that a few scattered seeds may somewhere take root, and vegetate for the benefit of others.

Alternately a conqueror and a captive upon the shores of La Plata, it was his lot to derive a privilege from misfortune, which had been denied for ages to the most favoured foreigner. By this inverted cause of incidents, he was not only allowed, but compelled to penetrate many hundred miles within its interior, to have a glance at its productions, and to associate with its natives. Still, after all, and however much the progress of the prisoner may be elongated between two dis-

tant extremities, he is yet unhappily restrained from stepping far to either side, by the laws of honour, and of vigilant coercion. His remarks therefore, must be confined almost within the narrow line over which he treads, consequently often uninteresting, and few in their number, when compared with those of the freeman. His records too must be more various than compleat, when they are noted upon little scraps of paper, and his deductions neither positive nor sure, when he is precluded from every source of scientific reference.

Had it not been for the mighty events that have recently passed within the country, about which these details exclusively treat, and the elevated independent rank she has finally attained amongst the nations, they never would have been obtruded upon the public, but contemplating the immense and inexhaustible range, which her freedom opens to the commercial enterprize of his own, the universal and prevalent ignorance of her wants, her customs, and her manners, the writer of those Gleanings has ventured to commit them to the world, under a strong sense of social duty, and a zealous wish to contribute his mite toward the general good. They lay no claim to merit but in their truth, no aim at excellence beyond their simplicity.

Leeds, October 1st, 1818.



GLEANINGS & REMARKS.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN we review the many wars in which we have been engaged with the monarchy of Spain, always, till recently, the subsidiary ally of France, when we contemplate those distant pecuniary sources, from whence that nation derived the means of waging and prolonging them, it is matter of surprize that our reiterated victories over both, upon the ocean, have never, but in one instance, been followed up by any enterprize against her South American Dominions, that has been worthy of the British name. It is yet more astonishing when we trace their wide extent, their many defenceless points, and above all their incalculable importance to a commercial, and a great maritime power. The gain of Cuba, in 1762, with Havannah its capital, that padlock over the Mexican gulf, after the loss of many lives, and the expenditure of millions, produced no other result than to serve as a portion of equivalent

in the balance of mutual restitution, stipulated in the terms of an ignominious peace, concluded in the succeeding year. Since that period, a far more enlightened policy has guided our public councils in the conquest, and retention of the island of Trinidad, which exhibits a striking contrast of wisdom in the present, compared with the fatal imbecility which over-ruled the measures of those former times. Its increasing prosperity since it became an English colony, is evidenced by an existing population of 26,000; which in 1783 did not reach 3000, and by some hundreds of barks for continental intercourse, that under its previous masters, was limited to two, for insular trade at home, and abroad. Its native staples are now cultivated beyond its wants, and have risen into articles of export, while every year presents some new specimens of our national genius and activity over its hitherto neglected soil. Those happy issues were anticipated by the prophetic mind of Mr. Pitt, who, aware of its local value, was determined never to surrender it, and who not so much from a spirit of conquest, as a desire to monopolize for the mercantile interests of his country, the benefits that offered, resolved on the reduction of its contiguous and rival islands, which were under the respective jurisdiction of Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, who successively were at war with us. Before the peace of Amiens our manufactures, being much needed, had a ready access into the Spanish provinces bordering on the sea, from the Orinoco to the

Gulf of Darien, and the navigation was performed chiefly under their own flag, protected by British passports. This epitome will tend to shew the cruel sacrifices made by the negotiation in 1763, as well as the weighty considerations, always uppermost in the thoughts of that immortal minister, either to obtain a footing on the continent, or to emancipate the colonies of South America.

Antecedent to these events, and so early as 1790, Mr. Pitt had conceived the latter project, if the dispute with Spain had not been amicably adjusted, and the plan was submitted to the joint councils of General Miranda, and some able Jesuit Missionaries, who when expelled from those settlements had taken refuge in Italy, but the storm blew over, and the scheme was suspended, but not abandoned. It was renewed however by the revolutionary government of France, a member of which was most anxious to interest Miranda in the cause, from a knowledge of his active talents, and his zeal to accomplish the freedom of his country; but that acute man, foreseeing the danger of such an aim, he artfully waved the proposal, by urging many obstacles to its success, and averse to the sanguinary and ambitious spirit of those reformers, he sometime after abandoned their service and repaired to England. Whether that officer's peregrinations into various countries of Europe had a political or a private object, cannot be decided on, but his destinies, and his individual character must have been precious in the eyes of his

patriot brethren in Mexico; a deputation from whom followed him to Paris in 1796, imploring, through him, a British aid, and for him to head it, to establish their liberties and independence. Soon after hostilities with Spain, a compact most advantageous to us in a pecuniary, as well as territorial view, was sealed by Mr. Pitt, and as the United States of North America were combined accessaries to it, it only awaited the signature of their President to commence their united operations in the glorious struggle. Owing to procrastination on his part, this favourite design was again dropped.

A similar expedition was imagined by Mr. Addington in 1801, but the peace of Amiens once more superseded it. The secession of Spain from the coalition authorized its revival, urged on too by the overwhelming progress of the French arms, over continental Europe, which held every state not yet subdued, in the same submission from their terror, as if they had conquered their capitals. Prohibitory edicts against our manufactures had shut almost every river and port, and it was only through the narrow crevices of necessity, or the perilous channels of an illicit trade, a circulation of our vital existence as a nation was maintained.

Those able coadjutors in the same administration, the late Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, over whose tombs and memories England may justly drop a tear, participating in the general domestic gloom of 1804, and feeling the im-

perative duty of retrieving such calamities by a bold step, had again recourse to the same expedient. Miranda was called on, and a respectable force was ordered under his colleague, Sir Home Popham. Many thousand stands of arms were to have been embarked, to have been put into the hands of the revolters; pilots from the Trinity-house were nominated, the rendezvous was to have been at the Island of Trinidad, and our debarkations were to have been effected upon the banks of the Oronoco. Such was the outline meditated in the beginning of 1805, when the Diadem was commissioned for Sir Home's pennant, but it was deranged by many disastrous military events upon the continent, and by a temporary superiority during the summer, of the Brest fleet, which alienated the services of that ship to reinforce our channel squadron. This retrospect is essential to explain, and perhaps to vindicate the origin and motive of that subsequent hostile attempt upon the shores of La Plata, which constitutes the main ground work of the present narrative, and as being the avowed wish of Mr. Pitt, it must have had a predominant influence over the future proceedings of Sir Home Popham, in undertaking a measure not unsanctioned, though certainly unauthorized, by the councils of his country.

CHAPTER II.

A MOST intelligent, and very interesting description of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope which had proceeded some years before, from the pen of Mr. Barrow, roused our government to a true sense of its value, as a military and commercial entre-depot for India, from its important geographical position, and its unbounded productions. It may not be unworthy to remark the secrecy and address with which this equipment was managed, so opposite to our usual preparations *for a secret expedition*, against that settlement. In July 1805, the Diadem returned to Portsmouth, where orders had arrived for a foreign outfit. A great many packages and letters were daily shipped, addressed for Constantinople, whither all supposed we were assuredly bound upon a diplomatic mission, and every one anxiously expected the great and wise man who was to conduct it. The rumour obtained general belief, but very trifling incidents will often overthrow the best concerted schemes. One day some horses were embarked, and it was noticed on one of their covers, to be stamped with the name of Sir David Baird. Our eyes were opened, and all instantly concluded that our future vocations wanted not the auxiliaries of pen, ink, and paper, but those of shot, shells, and gunpowder.

! Cotemporary with this, a large body of troops was in readiness to embark at Cork, the command of which was assumed by that general, while on the same plan of combination, a naval force under sealed orders, was pushed on to Madeira, our general rendezvous, there to await the arrival of that armament, and of a mercantile fleet destined for the West-Indies. The Diadem reached Ireland early in August, and soon after 14 Indiamen, having soldiers on board, and after every arrangement made, the whole set sail on the 31st, and in the evening gained an offing, with a fine leading wind. Our passage thither was tedious, and stormy, affording no interest, except our having seen a large squadron one afternoon, supposed to have been enemies, which never appeared again after the darkness came on. On the 29th of September we anchored in the Bay of Funchal, when our total effective force for the expedition was concentrated. A maritime power, like Britain, has always the exclusive means of projecting and accomplishing great designs, by a judicious direction of them, and a wise combination.

The approaches to the town of Funchal, appear picturesque, and few prospects offer a finer display for the pencil. Houses interspersed with trees, promiscuously towering above one another, together with luxuriant vineyards upon the sloping sides of the adjacent mountains in the shape of an amphitheatre, finely diversified by streams and villas, are at once embraced by the eye. But

on landing the fairy picture vanishes, as little but ruinous houses, and dirty streets, in a constant bustle from sledges, and men bearing down to the beach the wines of the island for shipment, are to be observed. The odours too from those narrow places, need not description. In all catholic countries the churches are the prominent specimens of their wealth and arts. Here they are inferior edifices, and although the painting and gilding within them are tolerable, yet the pentiles of them all are miserably finished. Their fortifications, and military establishment, were alike despicable; but doubtless many reforms for the better, have been instituted since the British held Madeira in trust. Upon the 3d of October the united convoys departed, and that bound for the Antilles separated on the 6th together with the *Narcissus* frigate, Captain Donelly, to cruize for intelligence near to the Cape of Good Hope.

Two very unfortunate accidents occurred on the 3d. of November in the wreck of the *King George* Transport, and the ultimate loss of the *Britannia* East-Indiaman, which ship though got off the Roccas Reef sunk in a few hours after it. Two lives perished in the former, and a woman who was delivered on the same morning was providentially saved together with her infant. Brigadier General Yorke, who commanded the artillery department, suffered on this occasion. When she touched, the bowsprit of the *King George* was perpendicular to the rocky surface, which

happily preserved the crew. That officer was urged to follow their example, but irresolute betwixt two worlds, and being anxious to bear along with him a box of guineas, he went below for it, but in the attempt to be lowered down, he missed his hold, when dropping into a depth, he fell an instantaneous prey to the sharks floating around in numbers. His death was considered a great professional loss. Those shoals, scarcely visible above water, are about 17 leagues to the West of Fernando de Noronha, an island near the Brazilian Coast; they lay in about $33^{\circ} 23''$ West longitude, and $40^{\circ} 46''$ South latitude. After a dispersion on the 6th of November, the whole expedition arrived in the Bay of All-Saints, St. Salvador upon the 11th. The entrance to it is grand, and a stranger feels a great desire to visit the city, formed by the upper and lower towns. The latter contains an excellent dockyard in good order, near to which are wine vaults of a prodigious extent, and well stored, belonging to a company at Lisbon, besides a neat exchange, where gold and jewels are exposed for sale. The two services were furnished here with 66 pipes of sound port, at £24. each.

Like all other parts of the world where Englishmen repair, the markets rose exorbitantly, and the pilot of the port, seizing the occasion, set up an ordinary and a grog shop, from which he realized 5000 dollars during our stay. An established Consul is the only medium, through whom such glaring impositions can be remedied in foreign harbours.

You proceed to the Upper Town by a gradual and pleasant ascent, and you are not disappointed when you reach it. At once are comprehended a view of the sea, of the bay with its fortified islands, and an extensive range of beautiful country. The sick were encamped on the summit, where they quickly recovered. The streets are neat, and the buildings elegant, and both towns possess churches well decorated within, and of good exterior appearance. All of them have organs. Going into one of them with Dr. Emmerson of the medical staff, who was an excellent performer, he offered his services. It caused a short demur, but they were at last accepted, and the heretic was allowed to play. He instantly struck off God save the king, Britons strike home, Britannia rules the waves, and some other grand national airs with admirable effect. The glances, and attitudes of the hearers, fully interpreted their sensibility to the sound of our music, although bigotry had rendered them inexorable to the charms of our religion.

The position of the city of St. Salvador, with its extended suburbs, is upon a peninsula to the partial view, which is formed by a salt-marsh stretching nearly around the whole, connected by an isthmus, with the main land not a mile in breadth. On this rests a fort with no outworks, but having four well-constructed bastions, but so small as to allow but one gun to defend the face, and another the flank of each. The ditch is deep,

and descends into the Lower Town at its entrance, rounding the point of a bastion, and so up a gentle eminence, where the North Eastern suburb is situated. Beyond these are lines that crown the heights, and overlook the shore. The defences towards the sea are formidable from many scattered batteries, but especially one that flanks them all, about 300 yards from the beach. Being a great naval, as well as commercial depot, the military force here is always strong, and part of it respectable. Most of the soldiers on guard, I observed, were decently clothed and armed, but examine their cartouch-boxes, you will be surprized to find them full of ammunition for the belly, not for the field, composed of a thick porridge made with water, from the meal of Indian corn.

Before taking leave of this spot, I would caution my countrymen who may hereafter visit it, against mingling with the natives after sunset, and still more from confiding in the boatmen who may carry them afloat after dark. Always be armed with small pistols, and shew those fellows you are so. This will induce their fidelity from fear, otherwise they may shape their course in an opposite direction, and if superior, will unrelentingly murder you for your imagined property. An example of this occurred while we were here, to some cadets going to India, who incautiously took passage with some of those villains, and who being defenceless, were assassinated in the most barbarous manner. Similar attempts

were tried upon others, but they were foiled by a determined shew of resistance. An excursion for a day up a narrow river that discharges into the bay, in search of live-stock exhibited a beautiful chequered interior, abounding and varied with wheat and maize-fields, hills and fertile vallies. My friend and self were hospitably entertained by a collector of the land-tax, to whom we carried a letter of introduction, seconded by two still more powerful advocates, presents of gunpowder, and several bottles of porter. After landing near to his home, having a chapel attached, we were ushered into a large room with an earthen floor, not unlike a kitchen in disorder. The venerable patriarch, for he merits the title, was seated in an arm chair, surrounded by three generations from his own loins, who were walking about, or crawling on the ground, besides a groupe of dogs, cats, pigs, and poultry to vary the piece. We were cordially received, and the eyes of the old gentleman glistened bright, when we unbagged our offerings. After a hearty dinner, repeated in the name of a supper, and pleasant repose, a horn was sounded in the morning, summoning all his liege dependents to bring in their commodities for sale, and having laid in our supplies at a rate which inclined us to suspect that our landlord must have had a fellow-feeling of interest in them, we shipped our adventure, wished the family good bye, and rejoined the Diadem in the evening. Every preparation finished, and our sick recruited, the fleet

departed from the Bay of All-Saints on the 28th. of November. Along the whole of the Brazilian Coast, and even at Sea, we passed close to several flat square boats, railed in at the edges, with short masts in the centre, carrying a small sail, that were often completely covered by the water, and which a stranger would at every wave, dread were swallowed up. But they skim along with safety, and are engaged in fishing, or in communicating with any vessels they may meet. Nothing intervened in our passage to the African coast, until the dawn of the 4th of January, 1806, when the Table Mountain, its Southern promontory, was seen just above the horizon. Several days elapsed before a landing could be ventured on, owing to heavy gales, and a dangerous surf along the whole line of our disembarkation, from Cape Town to the Bay of Lospard's at its opposite extremity.

CHAP. III.

DEMONSTRATIONS of landing, and a series of reconnaissance along the line of shore in Table Bay, preceded a partial debarkation of the 71st light company, in the small inlet of Lospard, upon the afternoon of the sixth of January. Although a dense tangle of seaweed from its entrance to the landing place, totally impeded the advance of our boats, and command-

ing sandhills lined both its flanks, which if occupied with a few fieldpieces, and some hundred infantry, might have repelled any attempt; still the Dutch shewed only a few rifle-men, who opened a loose fire, and on being pushed by our detachment, they injudiciously abandoned those valuable heights; retiring precipitately to the elevated grounds that intervened betwixt us and their main army on the fields of Blueberg. A very lamentable accident befel thirty-five fine fellows of the 98d. who were drowned close to the beach, owing to the mentioned obstruction, and perhaps from a sudden movement in the boat, proceeding from a want of familiarity with that new danger. Throughout the whole of this service, the promptness and dexterity of the seamen from the transports were eminently conspicuous, and far superior to those from the men of war. That occasion naturally obtrudes the suggestion how essential it is that a portion of every crew in the navy should be exercised in this arduous branch of duty. Upon most seacoasts a heavy surf succeeds a gale, or arises from other elementary causes. In this instance I observed the former description of sailors to land the troops quite dry in their persons and ammunition, while the latter confused or appalled by every succeeding swell, by exposing the sides of their launches to each, endangered both the lives and the effective use of every soldier. Generally speaking, a thorough science with such casualties, and the ready methods of avoiding them,

cannot be too extensively inculcated on every one destined for a sea life.

General Jansens had most imprudently committed his fortune to a battle in the field, instead of maintaining and defending the strong lines of Cape Town, with his numerous army. Having adopted decisively this alternative, he coolly awaited, in full array, the approach of the British on the morning of the 7th. of January. It would exceed my purpose and limits "again to fight the fight, again to slay the slain." It is enough to state that the conflict was for a time obstinate, but that a gallant charge of the Highland Brigade under General Ferguson, broke, and put the enemy to flight, which was instantly followed up by a rapid pursuit. The animated fire of thirty-six Chinese, who acted on foot as artillerists with six light guns, which they managed most admirably against the various positions of our line, was much praised. They subsequently enlisted with us in the same character. The disposition of our squadron under weigh in the bay overlooked every movement of the retreating army, and accordingly its marines were landed in their rear; a resolve, had it been persevered in, which would have given a fine termination to the day, by that fresh body coming in contact with the troops of the enemy, at that crisis in a totally exhausted state from a confined march of several miles, nearly knee deep in sand. But although some representations were offered to that amount, as well as its practability, yet the exertions

of that spirited department were confined, by orders, to the canonade of a house within a square inclosure which had been recently evacuated by the Dutch, instead of defiling along the salt-pans to the right, and by a double-time movement, striking at any optional point of their disordered columns. In place of this too, we were soon after united to our own army, and rested on the spot with it until the afternoon. Jansens though beaten, still kept together a respectable force with which he retired into the Hottentot Kloof, with the intention of cutting off the supplies of Cape Town, which he thus abandoned to its fate, and by raising insurrection amongst the Caffre Tribes, to render our possession of it both irksome and precarious. He trusted also to the chance of aiming a blow at some of our outposts. The noon of the 9th. of January placed Sir David Baird upon the banks of the salt river, three miles distant from the capital, whence a summons for its immediate surrender was sent in. An unnecessary delay in answering the flag, induced that officer to put his army in motion for the assault about two, on seeing which, the proffered terms were accepted, and on the same evening the British colours were hoisted on all the works.

It yet remained incumbent to bring Jansens to submission, for which purpose the Highland Brigade was ordered out, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Tennant, an English settler in the colony, who had been in personal

intimacy, and held much influence over the opinions of that general. This expedient happily effected its complete conquest without farther bloodshed, and added a gem to the crown, not exceeded by any other in solid value.

Premiums for flour and other articles soon restored plenty, and evinced their superabundance in the country, while a public proclamation stamping a fixed medium for the paper circulation, that had long laboured in an undetermined and a depressed state, restored general confidence, and a revival of trade. None rejoiced more in this event than some of our countrymen, who had remained after its late cession to the Dutch, under the protection of that government; they taking the oaths of allegiance to it. One of them, an experienced agriculturist, had been sent out by the Society in England, while the Cape was under our dominion, to superintend its practical improvements, around a considerable district. A spot of more than 200 acres was allotted to him in fee, as a farm for residence, and science, and his zeal and genius, were remunerated by a regular contract for 1000 ploughs adapted to local cultivation, of his own invention, at 100 rix-dollars each, or £17. 2s. 9d. sterling. This was only in part fulfilled when the colony was restored to Holland, and a few specimens delivered, but afterwards it was shamefully annulled by the authorities, and the individual almost ruined. The superior excellence of the Constantia

wines, a grape limited to two farms situated on a range of heathy ground, is a proof that its cultivation might be more extensively pursued, if properly encouraged. Mr. William Maude, a gentleman of property in the colony, and possessing much public spirit, shewed by a series of practice, and a close attention to the vines, their capability of producing a very superior sort to that now imported for general use in England. Instead of promiscuously mixing the ripe and unripe fruit together with the stalks, as has been the usage, and still I believe prevails, he carefully selected it into two distinct crops, and manufactured each when in a state of perfect maturity. This observance, and the placing a superintendent upon every one of his estates, to prune and watch the progress of the trees, gave evidence of the fact in various kinds, of an exquisite quality, which annually, and progressively, were highly improved. He purposed in time to bring them to an equal perfection with those upon Constantia. That individual complained bitterly of the arbitrary conduct and exactions of the Dutch government after he became its subject, which was conceived also to have committed a flagrant breach of faith in not having annulled the currency of the floating paper money, in conformity to the stipulations upon the late restoration of the colony by the British, and in consideration of a sum paid to their authorities, with that exclusive object. Of course every rix-dollar in business, became lawful prize to the captors, and the fraud was

obviously discovered, in their dates being previous to that event, and to our reconquest of the colony. Trade could not be easily carried on here without the aids of those printed instruments, for which not only the public on the spot, but our national pledge is the guarantee. In a financial view, there is no part of our territories so economically supported as the Cape, because its native commerce contributes much from its revenue to the maintenance of our civil and military establishments there, and the state of exchange being from twenty-six to thirty-three in favour of the Crown for public bills, that excess is consequently a gain to it.

As the Dutch flag was displayed long after the capture of the town, on the batteries and ships, several arrivals under neutral colours took place; some of which being French property were condemned, and a tender of Admiral Linois, with La Volontaire frigate, being decoyed into the bay by this stratagem, were taken. On board the latter was a lieutenant of their navy, named Steitz, a Hamburgher, who was an old acquaintance of Sir Home Popham's. Whether from the joy on renewing it, or an open temper I know not, but his communications were free and candid, as to the state of European affairs, concerning the escape of some French Squadrons from their ports, but more especially respecting the ultimate destination of that from which his ship had been separated—being against the Cape of Good Hope. So versatile was that

officer in his principles; he voluntarily lent his uniforms to ours on duty, when boarding vessels coming into the bay, and was in every way most officious to serve us. He avowed having been some years before employed as a spy in the North of Scotland, where he married a lady of good family and fortune, with whom he still held an uninterrupted correspondence. His disclosures were such as to render preparations necessary for receiving Admiral Jerome Buonaparte, by anchoring our squadron in proper positions in the bay, and strengthening the shore line with additional cannon, outworks, and lighted furnaces for redhot shot. But the fleet not appearing after a lapse of weeks, and knowing their inability to keep the sea so long without supplies, as well as their habitual terror of taking refuge in any port to seek them, it was concluded as certain that they had been diverted from prosecuting their final design.

The winter was now coming on, when a farther continuance in Table Bay must have been attended with danger, and permitted an interval of months for active operation in some other quarter, not subject to storms at this season, without the risk of our newly recovered dominions being exposed to any serious attack, or to maritime insults. Amongst other vessels, there was at this time an American brig at anchor in the bay, commanded by a Captain Wayne, who had been employed in the slave-trade, and in the course of it had frequently visited Monte Video, and Buenos Ayres. On board the Diadem also, were two sailors, who had touched at both

places, and one of them had been some years a resident in that capital. All coincided in accounts of their defenceless state, of their relaxed discipline, their unsuspecting security, and that a bold sudden blow at either, could not fail of success. The idea once conceived, became cherished, and preparations commenced at the close of March, 1806.

Having filled a civil situation on shore during our continuance at the Cape, it is my duty to acknowledge the many hospitalities received, before I take leave of it. They were many, and must always be warmly recognized, because they were disinterested. The climate is healthy, but the common wines in use must be carefully avoided by Europeans. Table d'hotes are numerous, where a stranger may dine sumptuously for a dollar, having a bottle of it at his elbow, but if he calls for foreign, he must pay extra. There are likewise several lodging-houses kept by respectable families, who take in those who choose, at very moderate rates, and to whom every comfort is supplied by separate bed-rooms, where each individual may breakfast, by an elegant table where the whole household assemble, as well as their visitors, to dine, which is often frequented too by residents of ascertained character. Both sexes associate on such occasions. As all passengers to or from India, are supposed to disembark while these ships remain in port, those boarding-places are much thronged during the whole period of their stay, and they were indeed originally established with that speculative view. If an

intruder beyond their regular hours of meal-time, shall enter a Dutch tavern, he may go away empty, for they will cook nothing after them. Some English adventurers however began, who knowing the whims, perfectly accommodated themselves to the taste and fashions of their countrymen. The gross manner of living in Cape Town, doubtless promotes the corpulency of its inhabitants—and it is no unusual thing to see a married lady, nay even the unwedded, to sup on fish swimming in the fat of sheep's tails, which are appropriated to the purpose of frying, a second course of beef-steaks with onions, and after a bumper of hollands, to dive into bed. So far as I could observe, their conversation was languid, but their attentions to their children were amiable, and steady to their domestic concerns. Although Cape Town is seated on a desert, still the houses built of stone and whitewashed, are good, their streets very wide, and intersected at right-angles, are regular, and the interior country is highly cultivated by wealthy boors, and British settlers. About eight miles from it, there is a vast range of gardens planned by a Scotchman, not far from Constantia, who sells an immense variety of seeds in small baskets, subdivided into forty-eight sorts, which are very well adapted for our home soil, and indeed the chance traveller cannot offer a more handsome remembrance to his European friend than by a few of them, with a collection of those from the heath, that abound in an infinite variety. Many pretty villas have been

pitched inland, and the adjacent grounds are much improved. The Table Mountain towering above the town, gives a grandeur to it from the bay, and it frankly warns the boatman against carrying sail, by a misty covering on its top, which always portends squally weather. The gusts are so sudden, that a craft is overset in a moment by their partial rage, when the surface is smooth as glass. The company's gardens in which stands the Governor's house, form a cool retreat during the day to the lounge, and in the evening are the resort of all descriptions, who are gratified till late, by a military band of music. Every shrub, or plant that can be found is here, and every fruit tree which is congenial to the climate. Oxen are the animals chiefly employed in labour. So pliant are they I have observed their drivers going at full speed with ten-in-hand, and their horses are deemed of much greater value as pacers, than trotters, to which they are trained. In estimating distances they familiarly calculate by hours, not by miles, and the hire is determined by the former; being a ratio of six for that space.

While we were at the settlement, a journey unto Caffraria was undertaken by the Hon. Captain Gordon, nephew to Sir David Baird, in company with Major Boyer from Algoa Bay, who had officiated annually as the accredited representative of the Dutch and English Governments, to the court of Gyka their king. They were bearers of the first presents sent to him after our being masters

of it. That promising officer, after being attached to the staff of the Duke of Wellington, during the whole of the peninsular war, terminated his glorious career by the side of his noble protector, on the fields of Waterloo. His journal comprized a period of 36 days, during which an extent of 2000 miles was passed, with little variation on the road; both travelling on horseback chiefly, with their retinue and provisions in two covered wag-gons, drawn by oxen; halting and reposing every night in the houses of the kindly boors, and undisturbed throughout, except by a few roving Boshmen who exist by the chase, and inhabit the cliffs, until they reached the abode of that royal chief. Captain Gordon described him as an interesting man, who when they were ushered into his house, was dressed in an old Dutch uniform, with two of his wives in the same chamber. After some previous ceremony, the gifts were produced, amongst which was the full dress of a British dragoon officer, still more richly ornamented. A mirror was fixed in the place, and the splendour of the jacket, instantly attracted the eye of his majesty. Taking hold of his new attire, after casting away the old with disdain, he put it on, and eagerly approached the glass. After a few capers, attuned by much self-delight, he wreaked his royal vengeance upon the decayed garment, protesting loudly he never would again wear a stitch sent him by the Dutch republic, but only that of English manufacture. His two wives wit-

nessed the scene with much pleasure, and to each of them some scissars, needles, and other trifles were given, but two East India handkerchiefs, were greatly prized. They soon departed, and were succeeded by five others of his spouses, drawn by similar inducements, to share in the general bounties bestowed. A court was held of the principal men, where all the punctilios of precedence were observed, and as various departments of state, both civil and military were organized, and much order prevailed in the community, it may be concluded that those distant and sequestered tribes are making gradual advance to civilization. A body of soldiers accompanied our travellers to a distance on their return, as a mark not only of respect, but as a guard against the Boshmen, with whom they wage a perpetual war. While we continued at Cape Town, Lieutenant Callendar, on the naval half-pay, was sent by Sir Home Popham, to explore the Bay of Plettenburg, of which he made a very favourable report. It contains several islands well-placed to defend the anchorage, around which the marine of England might ride in security, and he entered an inlet which he penetrated to some distance, having soundings throughout, sufficient for the navigation of vessels exceeding 300 tons burden. He stated that on each side of it was a continued line of trees capable for shipbuilding, and a kind of flax, from its texture, suited to serve as a substitute in naval equipments.

Early in April our departure was resolved on, and as our means were small, so the bustle of preparation was not preceptible. The light company of the 71st regiment, was the only regular military force we possessed, which with the marines, and seamen, trained to musquetry from the whole squadron, did not exceed 700 men. With this slender body, our flotilla got under weigh upon Saturday the 12th, destined to augment our conquests somewhere upon the banks of Rio de la Plata. But an interposing Providence decreed otherwise, for a dead calm obliged the Armament to anchor. Early on the following morning I was directed by Sir Home Popham, to examine the two sailors mentioned, apart from each other, to submit such questions as I might judge proper, and to record the details, in order to meet the eye of Sir David Baird, who was expected on board the *Diadem* at one in the afternoon. At that hour the general appeared, and after a short stay the whole of the 71st regiment, with a few dismounted light dragoons of the 20th, and six fieldpieces, were embarked during the same evening. To this reinforcement a regular staff was annexed, which changed its title into an expedition, instead of a predatory enterprize. General Beresford commanded the troops, having members under him from the engineer, medical, and commissary departments. To give uniformity, and a more imposing appearance to the whole, the disciplined seamen were clothed in red jackets, and finally

incorporated with the marines of their respective ships, under the common appellation of the Royal Marine Battalion.

On the 14th of April, the Diadem, Raisonable, Diomede, two frigates, one gunbrig, and five transports set sail, but on the 22nd, the Ocean having Major Tolley with 200 soldiers on board, parted company in a heavy squall during the night. This was a serious accident when we reflected upon our diminished numbers, and the magnitude of the undertaking before us. The misfortune induced the shaping our course for St. Helena, where it could alone be repaired.

During our passage thither, a task was imposed upon Mr. Wayne and myself. That American gentleman having sold his brig at the Cape, determined to share in our destinies. While at Buenos Ayres he had collected a series of weekly newspapers that had issued from the periodical press of a Colonel of Militia, whose liberal sentiments, and comprehensive knowledge were identified in every page, by the most animated displays of patriot feeling for his country's neglected interests, and the most intelligent, calm discussion upon the remedies best calculated to promote them. The publication was permitted to exist more than a year, but its free tenor, and its enlightened topics, could not long live in a political atmosphere obscured by despotism, and cherished by indolence and ignorance.

In place of encouragement the author was exiled, and his types were demolished. These

documents translated, were forwarded to our ministry by a packet homeward bound, which we found at St. Helena upon our arrival on the 29th of April. I have to lament that a counterpart of the whole fell a prey to the mob, when my house was ransacked at a subsequent period in Buenos Ayres. We rounded the South point of St. Helena in the afternoon of the 29th, close to the shore, where boards are posted in very visible letters, and in various languages, directing all vessels in approach "to send a boat on shore." Conceiving that the admonition did not apply to a man of war, the *Diadem* was proceeding to her anchorage in St. James's Bay, when a shot, the precursor of many more, was sent a little aside, and a second more seriously addressed, compelled her to pay that homage from which none are exempted.

It required the united persuasion and address of both our commandants, with Governor Patten, to repair our deficiency from the loss of the *Ocean*, who had to combat in his decision betwixt a high sense of his public duty to the East India Company, and a loyal wish to advance the prosperity of his country. The exertions of that gentleman for the good of the service were great, and generous. Acquainted with the plan of our future operations, and fearing our inability to execute it, he assumed the personal responsibility of ordering 180 men from his garrison, with all their appendages for the field, to be shipped in the *Justinia* a merchant vessel of 26 guns,

belonging to Messrs. Princeps and Saunders of London, which was in the roadstead, bound to, and insured for the Cape, but whose supercargo was prevailed on to deviate his voyage to the hostile shores of South America, in hopes of a better market. This detachment from the St. Helena corps was a valuable addition, as most of them were artillerists and excellent marksmen. From this sterile spot which yields but little; where the troops of the East India Company were always upon salt rations, and where a calf, tho' private property, could not be slaughtered without the Governor's permission, he spared some days fresh provisions to the expedition, which sailed on the 2nd of May for their ultimate destination. The result of Mr. Patten's unauthorized zeal entailed upon him the forfeiture of his government, but while that strict infliction of the letter of the law was passed upon him, it is the bounden duty of surviving justice to vindicate his memory from stain, under a knowledge of the virtuous motives that led to it.

Upon the 26th of that month after a baffling and tedious progress, a council of war was held, after which Sir H. Popham shifted his pennant into the *Narcissus* frigate, which proceeded in advance of the squadron to obtain intelligence, to sound the *Rio Plata*, and to communicate with the *Leda*, which ship had been previously detached for similar purposes. On the 8th of June, Cape St. Maria, the Northern point of it was perceived through a fog, and some of our ships had

narrow escapes, from a reef of rocks that run to the eastward of the isle of Lobos, near to the entrance of the river. Soon after the surrender of Monte Video, this little dependency was purchased from the captors by some English speculatists with a view to cure beef, to manufacture portable soups, and to catch seals and the wolf-fish which abound, and from whence it derives its name.

It is seated about ten miles from the continent, stretches out to a considerable distance, and some parts of it are scarcely visible until near, from their being level with the water.

It will be proper here to digress from the continuous detail of events which terminated in the reduction of Buenos Ayres, and to appropriate the following chapter to a pilotage definition of the dangers, that are profusely scattered, and directions to avert them, throughout the navigation of the magnificent estuary of La Plata.

CHAPTER IV.

AS little pains had been taken by the Spanish Government to correct the errors that had long prevailed in the Royal Charts of the Rio de la Plata, by surveys, many disasters consequently had befallen to the commercial traders, owing to their inaccuracy, and to the

prejudiced ignorance of the native pilots. The qualifications usually exacted from those practitioners, had never been ascertained by any public examination, and the only experience, or talent they derived to entitle their assuming such important trusts, had been drawn from occasional fishing excursions upon the river, by some, while others founded their professional knowledge as commanders of little barks employed in a frequent intercourse between Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, and Maldonado. Our temporary conquest of the capital, gave us also the complete sovereignty of the Plata, and after our misfortunes, it was perpetuated by our superior naval force, and the reduction of Monte Video. The following directions for safely navigating the Rio de la Plata, were obtained from a scientific naval officer, whose exclusive duty it was to sound all its bounds, to explore minutely around all its shoals and dangers, and who recorded every remark at the moment it was made.

For sailing up to Monte Video to avoid the English Bank on the South Side keep to the Southward of the parallel $35^{\circ} 24''$ South, till you are so far to the Westward as Monte Video, when you will have seven or eight fathoms, and a clayey bottom. Then steer N. by W. *true course*, till you get into the latitude of $35^{\circ} 15''$, and when you sound five or six fathoms, Monte Video bears true North. Steer for it immediately, keeping steadily in six fathoms water, until you see the mountain, when you may anchor two or three miles from the shore, as you judge proper.

To avoid the English Bank on the North Side.—Keep between the parallel $35^{\circ} 6''$ and $35^{\circ} 0'' 0''$ making a true West course. In the best of the channel the ground is muddy, and you will know whenever you are too far either South or North, by its becoming sandy. Pass between two and three miles to the South of the Island of *Flores*, when you may soon anchor before Monte Video in six fathoms water.

For sailing into Maldonado.—Pass fully half a mile to the Westward of Goriti Island, giving the same distance from its North-west point, in order to clear a reef laying off it, and when that island bears South by compass, haul round to the Eastward, having the centre of it S. W. by S. when you will anchor in six fathoms. Variation E° .

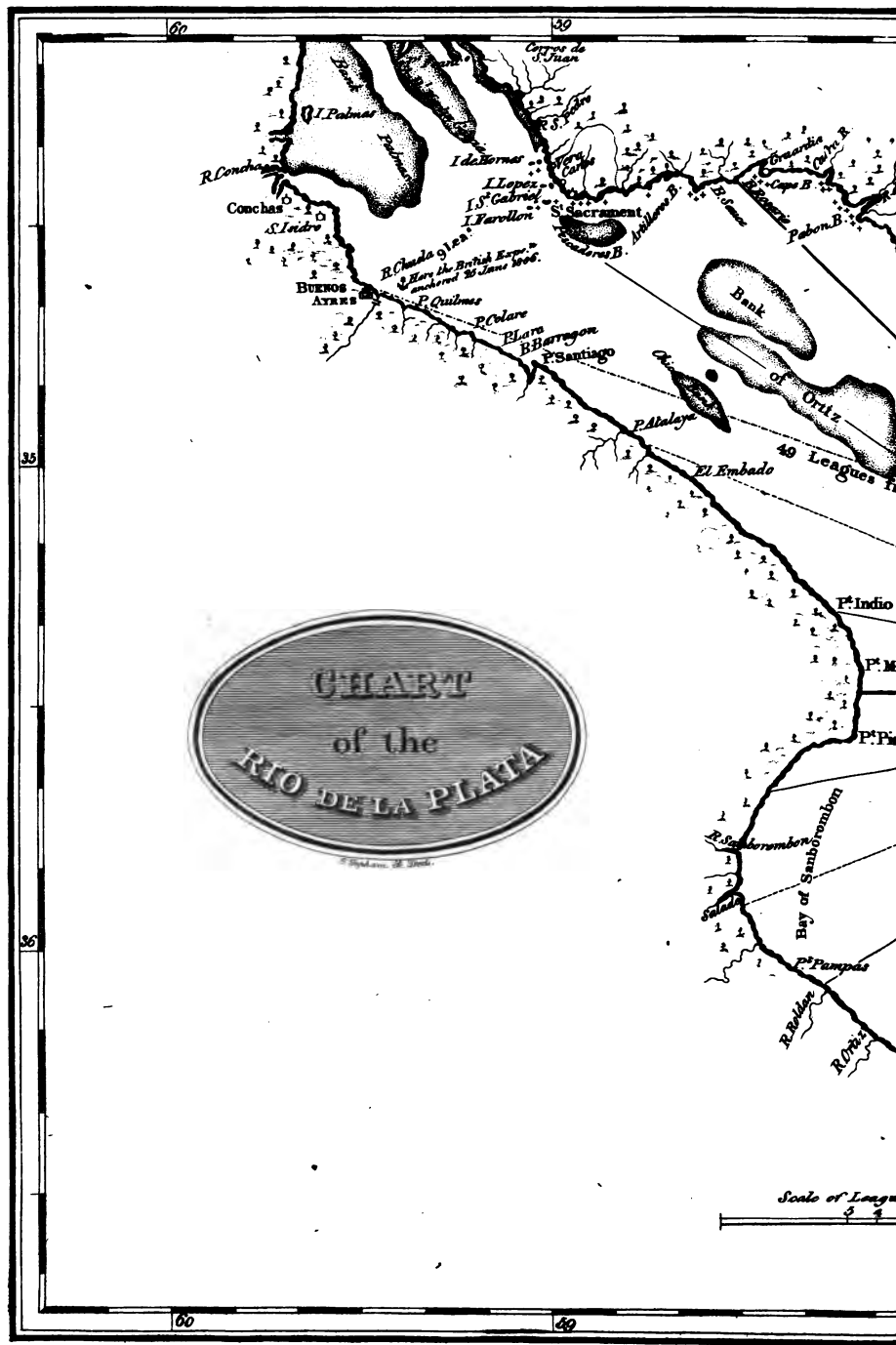
Bearings & Distances in the Plata by Compass.

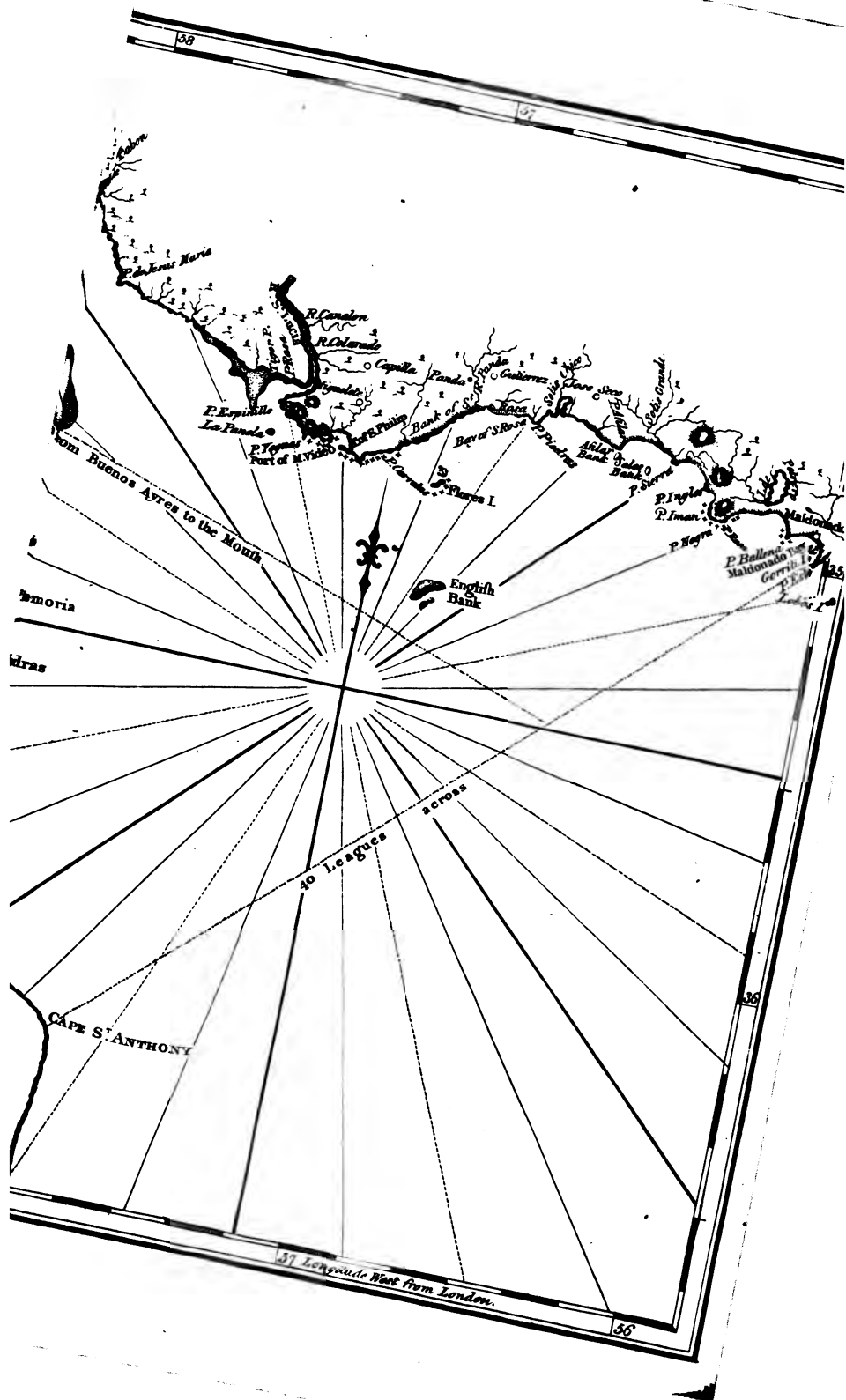
	<i>Miles.</i>
From the Mount to the Beacon upon Ortiz Bank, W. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	46
That Beacon to the Trees seen upon Embado, W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S....	36
Ditto to East end of Chico Bank, E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.....	26
The Beacon upon Ortiz and Chico Banks, W. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.....	38
Ditto. ditto. ditto. To Farillo N. W. by W.	32
Beacon on Chico Bank to Ensenada del Banagon W. by S.....	23
Colonia del Sacramento to Ensenada South.....	21
Colonia to Buenos Ayres S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.....	31
Beacon on Chico Bank to Buenos Ayres West.....	47
The course up the Middle Channel W. N. W.....	41
Ditto up the South Channel, W. N. W.....	41

Be very cautious against approaching too near the Beacon.

Directions for sailing up the Middle Channel.
—The Beacon upon Ortiz Bank bears from the anchorage at Monte Video W. N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. 42 miles. That Bank extends seven or eight miles to the Eastward of the beacon upon it. Sailing









from the anchorage mentioned, the course you must steer to clear it is S. W. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. but should there be a strong floodtide, or current, steer S. W. by W. to preserve a safe distance from the Bank. Then shape your course *South* until you observe the trees upon Point-Indio from the tops of your vessel. You will then be seven or eight miles to the South of the Beacon, which distance you must preserve, and where you will find when the river is low, from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, and when it is high, 4. When the Beacon bears North, you may tack at the distance of five or six miles, when you will soon be in four fathoms, and when it bears East, you are in a fair and safe way up the Middle Channel. The course to carry you through is W. N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. You will find the depth to vary from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to seven fathoms, but in passing through, you *must not* approach the *Chico Beacon* nearer than four miles, which will bear South from you. In beating through against a contrary wind, you must be very attentive not to stand *into less* than three fathoms water, because the ground upon the Chico Bank is extremely irregular. When you are *under* that depth, the breadth of the Channel is between four and five miles at the nearest points.

Directions for sailing up the South Channel.
—Make Point-Indio which bears from the Beacon upon Ortiz Bank by compass nineteen or twenty miles, then keep the land distinctly in sight from the deck, until you get abreast of Embabo, when you will have three fathoms, after-

wards $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ and when Attalaya is S. W. from you one quarter less. The Chico Bank is twelve miles nearly in length. If bound to Colonia, the course which carries you through between the banks, will also serve for Farollon.

Latitude of Ortiz Beacon.....	35°	21'	15"
Longitude from Greenwich West	57°	9'	00"
Latitude Chico Bank.....	34°	49'	23"
Longitude ditto.....	57°	37°	30"

It is necessary from the very sudden and unaccountable falls that often occur in the Plata, as it rises or declines on such occasions seven or eight feet, for vessels who anchor in it, always to veer in due time, to a long cable, whenever there is the least appearance of wind, as their safety in a gale chiefly depends upon that early precaution. A thunderstorm always precedes its approach, and is quickly succeeded by a tremendous South Wester, which having nothing to break its violence along the unsheltered plains of the Pampas, rushes down the river with an irresistible fury. Retrospectively, and upon the whole of this perilous navigation, it may be remarked, that vessels in making Cape Maria from the N. East, it would be proper, *if having a flowing sheet*, to keep the Northern shore until they have passed the Ortiz Bank, because although this channel is more narrow, yet it is deeper and less dangerous than the Southern, which contains many rocks off Point Piedras. Having got sight at once of the Pescador and Chico Banks, you sail securely between them in a direct line for the roadstead of Buenos Ayres.

CHAPTER V.

Having dwelt particularly upon the navigation, it may also be proper to extend a little in description of the various ports upon Rio de la Plata, as both are intimately connected, and as both are of relative use under sudden, and incidental dangers.

In case of fogs, which are very prevalent in the river from June to September, the vicinity of its mouth is always denoted by the water gradually assuming a muddy hue, being a contest between the fresh and salt. During that period, the perils from the tremendous pamperos are as much to be dreaded, as those from its shoals. These winds, as has been said, after an uninterrupted passage across the extensive plains of the Pampas come in contact with the Plata, which serving as a kind of contracted funnel for their farther progress, they rush along its surface with an irresistible fury, from Buenos Ayres to the sea. In ordinary seasons also, the depth of the river sometimes rises or falls seven or eight feet, being under the arbitrary control of the casual breezes that may blow. Both these remarks were lamentably exemplified in the subsequent loss of our gunboats, anchored some distance above the city, from the violence of the former, and in a vessel of force having been unexpectedly left dry, and in that state boarded by some cavalry, and

taken, upon the day of our surrender, from the latter cause. These unaccountable agitations determine the quality of the water, as the slightest gale from the North, or South of East, impregnate the fresh with the sea, and one from the opposite directions gives it in a clear and wholesome state.

The two points of St. Anthony, and Mary, bear a relative distance of about 150 miles, and Buenos Ayres rather more than 200 from the centre between both. Having represented the elementary risks that occur, it remains to delineate the harbours which yield a refuge from them.

Towards the entrance from the North is Maldonado Bay, quite open, and unadvisable to choose as an anchorage, except in South-east gales, when it is sheltered by the contiguous island of Goritti, owing to the rocky approaches to it. Tracing along the North-western bank is Monte Video, deemed the most secure of any part during nine months of the year, but it was usual for vessels to winter off Ensenada de Banagon, on the other side during the remainder, notwithstanding its numerous shoals, in order to avoid the pamperos, to which the former anchorage is exposed. In making the harbour of Monte Video, keep to the East of its entrance because the water is much deeper, and with fewer rocks than the opposite one. The tides produce a fluctuation from four to seven feet depth, according to the direction of the prevailing breeze. This place seems the most eligible depot in the Plata, for

both military and commercial purposes, from its position near to the sea, its impregnable strength, and as precluding the necessity of those risks, and that waste of time, which a prolonged navigation in large vessels upwards, unavoidably involves. Little attention I am informed has been paid to the roads, by which an inland communication can be maintained with San Carlos, whence boats were always in waiting to proceed for Buenos Ayres, but increased improvement, induced by self-interest, will one day overcome all obstacles to such facilities for its internal intercourse. Coastwise, a small craft of a flattish construction and a good breadth, might be employed in the transport of foreign imports and native produce. Above all considerations Monte Video from its scite, is the commercial key to the Plata, and the capital, because nothing can come in without a certainty of search or capture, by some of its cruzers.

Going onwards, in a line higher, Colonia stands opposite to Buenos Ayres, which is an open roadstead, and so abounding with shoals, that the regular pilots often err. Not distant from the inlet to the interior country, having a daily connection with the coast, and the continent, and from its vicinity to the metropolis, this place has long been the grand centre of contraband traffic; a pursuit which is sure to meet the protection, and favour of every South American subject.

Crossing over to Buenos Ayres, about thirty-one miles distant, you land on a pier

constructed of stone at much labour and expence, which is carried considerably within seamarck. Excepting small craft, nothing can anchor nearer than four miles with safety, and these serve to transport the merchandize to and from the vessels in the roadstead. Under sudden falls the beach is dry for a great way, and the river Chuello discharging into the Plata about two miles off, and having a dockyard near its mouth, is so precarious in its soundings, that no trust can be placed in a regular communication from it, by the many large boats that are always fastened to its sides. Buenos Ayres therefore cannot properly be denominated a seaport.

To remedy these disadvantages attached to so great an emporium, the anchorage off Ensenada de Banagon, has been selected as a retreat for those merchantmen that have delivered their cargoes at Buenos Ayres, by means of the craft mentioned, and sometimes the village itself serves as a warehouse, from whence goods destined for the use of that city are forwarded by land carriage, and by a like process it is converted into a deposit for the exports of the capital, at the most convenient intervals for their shipment. Had such a place been raised upon the most barren spot in England, we would long since have beheld a mighty city there. Ensenada stands upon a bay of dangerous access, into which a river runs, having not more than thirteen feet of water, of course only vessels of little burden can enter, and the range of banks which intervene between it

and the Plata, form the shelter against the pamperos to those riding at anchor in the offing. Many Americans frequented this place, and particularly those concerned in the slave-trade. While the ships continued off, their captains were engaged in disposing of their cargoes, and in negotiating returns for them. Until the prohibition of that inhuman traffic, it enjoyed many exclusive privileges from the revenue, in drawbacks upon the rest of their lading, immunities in their purchases, and in an extension of residence for the winding up of their business. The overland intercourse from Ensenada to Buenos Ayres, is only during the summer, and by carriages drawn with oxen. The extent is nearly thirty-two miles, over paths frequently intersected by deep ravines, which are made passable by a collection of materials dried in the sun, but which are dissolved again by the winter rains. Over the Chuello river, that lays on the line of road, there was a wooden bridge. All the maritime travellers journeyed on horseback, with a guide, who acted also as a guard.

The rising importance of the river of Plata to the whole commercial world, has induced me to this tedious, but I hope not uninteresting deviation from the thread of detail. It is offered from a sense of public duty, and in a hope that its errors may tend to further enquiry and correction, and its deficiencies supplied by those who may hereafter visit its shores.

CHAPTER VI.

THE two commanders in chief did not make Cape Maria until the 8th of June, and on the following day the *Narcissus* very fortunately detained a schooner under the Portuguese flag, a little above Monte Video, having on board the son of the Governor of Truxillo, charged with dispatches for Old Spain. There was likewise a Scotchman in her, named Russel, who disguised himself, and affected not to understand our language, but after a minute examination, he avowed himself to be a naturalized subject of Buenos Ayres after a residence of fifteen years, that he officiated as a royal pilot for La Plata, that the true character of the vessel was Spanish, and her destination for Rio Janeiro, from whence that diplomatic agent was to proceed incognito for Europe. I fear much that this man's services were poorly requited by us, as in 1811, I understood he had found his way to England in pursuit of redress, but after several ineffectual appeals to some who ought to have supported him, and having been at the expence of employing an attorney to advocate his cause, he once more relinquished his own country without a remuneration. His fidelity to us was afterwards proved in his being immured by the Spaniards on the reconquest of the city, sent up the country in irons, and from

whence he was not released till a peace with that peninsula took place.

The intelligence given by Russel was, that a large sum of money had lately arrived at Buenos Ayres from the Upper Country, to be embarked for Spain by the earliest opportunity, that the city was protected by only a few regulars, five companies of undisciplined Blandengos, a popular rabble, and that the approaching annual festival of Corpus Christi, which engaged the attention of all descriptions, and terminated in a general scene of drunkenness and riot, would be the most favourable crisis for an attack upon it.

Upon the 13th of June, the whole armament having united, a council of war was held, which resolved that the intended attempt upon Monte Video should be diverted against the capital itself.

It appeared from Russel's information too, that our expedition, which had touched at St. Salvador the preceding November, had been reported, by their public agents there, to the Spanish Government, as having some part of South America for its object, but from such a lapse of time, and nothing having been heard of its operations upon their coasts, the conclusion was, that it had other views, and in this sentiment, that every department had relapsed into their wonted security.

The acquisition of such a man at this time seemed to augur well, but his intellects were non-effective whenever he could have access to the bottle. An allowance however was

permitted him beyond common, and by a watch through the day over his motions, as well as over his pillow through the night, he was debarred from excess after his propensity was known.

Great difficulties intervened before we could reach, in a combined order, the point of our debarkation. Besides the common dangers of the river, we were often involved in thick fogs, which, with the inequality of sailing in some of the transports, tended much to retard our progress; for those ships that had gained considerably while it was day, were obliged to sacrifice that advantage at its close, so as to reunite the whole, and to commence their labours afresh every succeeding morning. In justice to Sir Home Popham, those trying occasions evinced a great equanimity of temper, and an unruffled genius, which uniformly marked and directed both his words, and actions. This tribute, and its merits, are greatly enhanced when we penetrate into those conflicts of anxiety that must have ruled within him, struggling at the moment against adverse incidents, and with a mind weighed down by a conscious load of responsibility. Having been personally on board the Encounter gunbrig, with 130 men, which vessel was always under weigh, and in advance of the squadron, and whither that naval chief always repaired every morning to guide its movements, I was enabled to remark those testimonies.

While under Russel's charge, the *Narcissus*

grounded upon Ortiz Bank, but after lightening her she was fortunately saved.

Upon the afternoon of the 25th of June, the military branch of the armament was abreast of Quilmes, a low point of land situated twelve miles from Buenos Ayres, and in the course of it a landing of the whole effective force, with their ammunition for service, was effected. The Encounter drawing only twelve feet of water, could not stand nearer to the shore than a mile. Fires lighted upon every summit, and an immense concourse of horsemen from all directions, to the grand centre of Reduction, a village more than two miles in our front, denoted a general alarm, and that this rising ground was chosen by the enemy as the field for the approaching contest.

After a close view of our own position, it was ascertained that we were insulated at the time, owing to a flow of tide into a ravine which surrounded it. But an ebb, and an immediate advance placed us beyond it, near to the margin of a green morass. Our effective army which was destined to conquer a city of more than 40,000 in population, with an immense body to dispute our way into it, consisted only of seventy officers of all ranks, seventy-two serjeants, twenty-seven drummers, and 1466 rank and file ; making a grand total of 1635.

However disinclined I am to military detail, still I must be permitted to indulge a little in it, not so much from the interest of its events, or the splendour of its achievements, than the

desire of inculcating upon those, whose duty it may be hereafter to sustain the honour of the British arms, how much may be designed, and finally accomplished by a bold conception, followed up by a persevering, and a resolute decision. To have temporized a day would have involved our ruin, and as the first die was thrown, the game must be finished.

In whatever light political jealousies may have considered the motives, and result of this enterprize, yet the credit of our nation, and the glory of her soldiers, was neither tarnished or lost, by the meanest subordinate employed in it. Adopting the language of a wellwisher to my country with respect to the former feeling, and keeping out of sight those *private* views that might have induced the expedition, the measure certainly led to the public good, at this period of our domestic history, when our commerce and manufactures languished, when the resources of Spain were exclusively absorbed by France, to procrastinate a war of universal revolution, and who seeking neither the aids of her fleets or armies in the cause, looked to the mines of America alone, for the means of consummating this awful catastrophe. As to the result, into whatever pockets the money went, is immaterial; it is sufficient that it was alienated from the coffers of such an enemy to mankind.

It must however be acknowledged when speaking comparatively of the importance between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, as military posts, and as permanent conquests, or

depots for our commerce, that a great sacrifice of national objects was made by the alternative of proceeding against the latter. It is not pleasant to reflect on, but candour demands an animadversion upon their relative value, and the sad consequences that arose from the fatal measure.

In the council of war which decided on our field of campaign, General Beresford was overruled in his opinion to proceed against Monte Video, by his naval colleague, and a large majority.

Enough has been said respecting its superiority as a seaport, and it only remains to terminate this relative discussion by describing its preeminence in the view of a military post, and as a more permanent hold until better times. Had that fortress been attacked and carried, instead of the capital, there is not a doubt but that with our little force, aided by the co-operation of our squadron, we would have maintained ourselves independent of local supplies, and against any enemy that might have been brought against us. Our ships might have transported in a short time provisions from St. Catharine's in the Brazils, and as Monte Video stands on the extremity of a narrow peninsula, which touches on the sea, and is navigable to gunboats on each side of it, any assailing army from the continent must have been exposed to the cross fire of those small craft in their approaches to the garrison. From this stand, an intercourse might have been kept up with such natives as

were favourable to us, it would have served as a secure warehouse for our manufactures, which being much wanted, would have been eagerly purchased at all risks by adventurous smugglers from the interior; and Buenos Ayres left to herself, and her trade thus blockaded, would have deplored its loss, and under a joint impulse of necessity as well as self-interest, would have acceded to a temperate compromise, in those sacrifices which she would not afterwards surrender to seven thousand bayonets. The alternative adopted by us, irritated her natives, and the calamitous issue adequately records the blunder without a farther enlargement.

Picquets having been thrown out in front, the army bivouacked through the night upon its ground. It was just dark when an alarm was heard from some unsteady fellows upon advance, who discharged their musquets in a direction from whence the sound of horses' feet proceeded, seemingly floundering down at full speed upon them. Lieutenant Landel of the marines who commanded it, behaved with a cool spirit. In place of falling back precipitately he maintained his ground until the main body formed.—This arose from some sailors, who observing a number of horses, attempted in vain to catch some of them, and thus drove them upon our line.

At dawn on the 26th, the whole was under arms, after some heavy rain during the night which injured a few pieces. Daylight exhibited to us the village of Reduc-

tion nearly two miles on our left, a mass of horse and foot, with four guns upon each flank before us, and a dense column of cavalry hovering upon our right. They were drawn up on the farther extremity of a deep, but verdant morass, and on a chosen flat rising abruptly many yards above our level, like to the steep bank of a river. Nothing could be finer for a defensive position. Early on the morning several of their leaders upon steeds richly caparisoned, and dressed in superb cloaks or ponchos, came down to reconnoitre the borders of the swamp that intervened betwixt us, and from their subsequent confidence it may be presumed, that they held our menaces in derision. We had no other alternative but to force our way through every obstacle.

Our troops formed into two columns, and after a forward movement of 800 yards they deployed into line. The 71st regiment formed the right; the marine battalion, a little to the rear of it, the left; and the St. Helena corps 200 paces behind, the reserve. An instantaneous advance brought us to the bog, and the enemy noticing one of our guns entangled and our men irretrievably committed in it, opened their fire with an oblique direction to the right. The 71st however undismayed by obstacles, rattled through, and soon came down to the charge, while the marines doubled rapidly into its rear, and somewhat to the right, in order to cover that flank from any impression attempted by the stationary body described,

which seemingly awaited for the chance of such an advantage. Having surmounted the marsh, and gained the summit beyond it, a close fire was thrown in by the grenadiers of the 71st, which put their army to flight in every direction; leaving behind their cannon and the mules that drew them.

Our trip through this amphibious excursion was marked by some cross incidents which served to cheer those who escaped them. I mention one only, which occurred to my brother-officer, Captain Alexander M'Kenzie. Equipped for the field, he carried as usual some requisites on his back, for the in and outsides. Eager to push on, he suddenly sunk into a deep hole, from which he was unable to retreat with such a load, but zeal dictated to him the necessity of imploring the aid of some compassionate friend, by a vociferating appeal to his mercy, of "cut awa my bag, for God's sake cut awa my bag."

Our loss was trifling from the elevation of the Spanish guns, but Mr. Halliday who was a surgeon's assistant, and who had remained too long upon the ground we occupied in the morning, was barbarously murdered. After a halt of two hours to refresh, and to keep alive the panic produced, the pursuit was continued; their scattered parties retiring upon the river Chuello, where they had a wooden bridge, to which they set fire, and afterwards combined their force upon its opposite bank.

Our main body rested during the night about a mile from it, having pushed on three

companies of the 71st, which had some distant skirmishing across the stream in the course of it.

The evening was beautiful, and we beheld from our position, the lofty spires of Buenos Ayres a league off; the grand aim of our hopes, and the period of our labours.

Before daylight we were formed, and after it, put in motion; preceded by a strong detachment of artillery, upon which the enemy commenced a heavy fire from their recesses amongst ditches, hedges, and houses about one hundred yards from the Chuello, but after an interchange of an hour it was silenced, when their troops disappeared. Several seamen swam across that river, about forty yards broad, and bringing over some vessels that were fastened to the side, a bridge was made which soon passed our whole force with their equipage. This accomplished, we took possession of the little village of Barrackas, with its dockyard, and a large flotilla of small craft. A summons was dispatched at mid-day of the 27th of June, into the city, which was accepted, on verbal terms, to be subsequently ratified, and which to the everlasting honour of the British name, was fulfilled to an extent far beyond its original conditions, or the most sanguine expectations of our enemies.

Three hours had not elapsed from that happy event which introduced us as conquerors into Buenos Ayres, when the interposition of a protecting providence towards us, was made manifest, in having decreed us success at so

very critical a moment, and in having preserved us from the torrents of rain that fell, and the piercing winds that blew, against either of which we would have otherwise been destitute of shelter. What they might not have effected, famine must have completed, or the assassin's knife.

We entered the capital in the afternoon, in a wide order of column, to give a more imposing shew to our little band, amidst a down-pour of water, and a very slippery ascent to it. The balconies of the houses were lined with the fair sex, who smiled a welcome, and seemed by no means displeased with the change.

The Marquis Sobramonte, Viceroy of the province, had been amongst the first to relinquish the field of battle, and was also the foremost to abandon the seat of his dignity and government. Every tongue spoke freely of his conduct, and I doubt not but that his precipitate flight gave a serious and a lasting stab to the authority and honour of the Crown, in the popular estimation.

The night had not closed before we were accosted by several of our countrymen, over whose individual histories there hung much obscurity. Some we were told had been supercargoes, or consignees, who had abused their trust, and had thus become everlasting exiles from their country and their friends, while others were composed of both sexes, who by a violation of our laws, had been banished from their protection, and whose crimes, in a

part of them, had been still more deepened in their die, as perpetrators of murder. These were some of the convicts of the Jane Shore, who had become denizens by their religion; a most essential preliminary in this continent, to personal safety and prosperity. As we could not, under our circumstances, discriminate their shades of guilt, I can only speak of them as a body of unfortunates, and in doing so, I rejoice that truth authorizes me to vindicate human nature, in so far, that there are few hearts which are completely depraved, by the facts this occasional intercourse unfolded.

Those who have never been removed from their own soil to a distant quarter of the world, can have but faint conceptions of the noble feelings inspired by national consanguinity. Every being who has sprung from it, whom we meet, seems as if to merit, not only our notice, but our friendship; errors are obliterated, and we take him to our bosom. This was realized mutually upon the present occasion. All of that list, except one dissolute female, were settled in decent employs, and doing well, and all of them contended in their good offices to us. The partial services of a few towards our distressed soldiers while in prison, will atone for many weighty sins. They will come yet under review at a future stage. The better orders stamped this set with detestation, but the populace embraced them as champions of the catholic cause, by having rid the world of so many abominable heretics, while the church received

them as precious elects in its spiritual campaigns, and as meet subjects for its impious, and expiatory absolutions.

After our arms had been secured, guards planted, and different parts of the city had been examined, most of us were compelled to go in search of refreshment. There were many guides ready at our service to conduct us from amongst a parcel of idle porters that ply about the streets in numbers. They led us to a tavern called *Los Tres Reyes*, or 'Three Kings, in a street of the same name. A repast of eggs and bacon was all they could supply, for every family uses the purchases of the morning on the same evening, and the markets shut very early. At the same table there sat many Spanish officers, with whom, a few hours before, we had combated; who had become prisoners by the capture of the city, and who were regaling upon the same fare with ourselves. A handsome young woman served both parties, but on her brow there sat a deep frown. Caution prevented, for a time, her casting an eye, that telltale of a woman's thoughts, upon its object, and we considered it directed to ourselves. Anxious to remove every unfavourable prejudice against us, which might naturally arise from fear of an inadequate recompence being paid by so many hostile voracious strangers, so busily engaged in devouring the contents of her father's larder, I interpreted through Signior Barreda, a civilian Creole who had resided some years in England, and was present, the liberal usages of

Englishmen in such cases, and begged from her a candid avowal of the cause of her displeasure. After thanking us for this honourable declaration, she instantly turned to her countrymen, who were at the other end of a long table, addressing herself to them in a loud and most impressive tone. "I wish that you gentlemen had informed us sooner of your cowardly intentions to surrender Buenos Ayres, for I will stake my life that had we known it, the women would have turned out unanimously, and driven back the English with stones." This heroic speech astounded those warriors, and pleased not a little our Creole friend. After its delivery, she resumed her natural good humour and charms. That landlord proved a kind friend to our nation, by affording a free assylum to many commercial prisoners who fell into the enemy's hands after the reconquest, who were forlorn and destitute. He clothed and fed them, and tenders of money were not wanting in their misfortunes. If that family still inhabits the inn, they are well entitled to the gratitude of every Englishman, or if their benovolent virtues have reached the ears of their government, and have drawn its vengeance on their heads,—perhaps a stock from it survives somewhere, who will retain, while they live, an inherent, and imprescribable bond upon the bounty of every British purse.

When we were afterwards ordered off into the country, every officer dined at their house on the same day, and by united consent, a

letter was left with them, drawn up in strong terms of recommendation, to that conquering army which we anticipated to replace our flag, and to redress our wrongs.

The Viceroy in his haste to be off, did not neglect however to enforce the removal of those treasures, that next to his own salvation, were nearest to his heart. Under the impending storm he had directed a retrograde march to them, and notwithstanding the bad roads caused from the late rains, they had reached in three days the village Luxan about fifty miles distant. No time was lost in pursuing them, and the daring duty was confided to Captain Arbuthnot of the 20th Light Dragoons, Lieutenants Graham and Murray, with only thirty men from the gallant 71st regiment. That little detachment set out upon the 3d of July, and returned upon the 10th, conducting back 631,684 dollars in coined and uncoined specie, a great portion of which had been thrown into wells, under a confidence that no military force would presume to penetrate so far into the country in search of it. Although threatened by bands of horsemen from a little distance, and a population hostile to a man, yet the service was performed without any farther molestation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE public authorities, and the commercial inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, very soon understood the amount of that force which had subdued them, and that the chiefs of the expedition were vested with no power either to pledge the protection or guarantee of their own government to a new dynasty, or to hold out any permanent melioration of their condition, or any fixed specific engagement on which they could confidently rest their future hopes. The only solid or intermediate remedy they could offer, until they received instructions from home, was to reduce the former duties of $34\frac{1}{2}$ upon exports and imports, to $12\frac{1}{2}$ and to permit a free trade to the port.

But an early knowledge of our numbers, so totally inadequate, even to the purpose of self defence, far less to dictate laws to them, excited the magistracy to political intrigue for the subversion of our power, in the very first stage of its existence, by their official sway over the popular impulse, and by deeply concerted plans, widely ramified through various members of the church, as well as of the secular orders. The better-informed too were early apprized, and it had a powerful impression upon them, that the expedition itself had originated with an individual, and

that they could expect but few confirmations to promises made them from our legislature, thus pronounced from the mouth of an unauthorized organ. As the Audiencia had constitutionally succeeded to the supreme direction of public affairs by the self-abdication of the Viceroy, its duties, as well as those of the other departments were allowed their uncontrolled exercise, in terms of the capitulation, with the exception that General Beresford, according to the late system, should sit in character of its president, and as the representative of his Sovereign. Its sittings were few while we held the place, and at none did that officer assume the dignity.

To cover our own weakness, rations were demanded beyond our real wants, but our guards being paraded every morning and marched off from the grand square, on which occasions a large assemblage convened, amongst whom were officers in disguise, who by counting off the strength of each, and ascertaining their different posts of duty, they were of course, in less than a week, perfect masters of our total effective returns, together with the most vulnerable points in the city which they respectively occupied.

From having been nominated commissary for prisoners of war two days after its surrender, the duties of that office consequently introduced me to the ruling principles and natural dispositions of various classes in its society, to a greater degree than fell to the lot of most of my brother-officers. It pro-

duced several results which will appear in their proper places.

If mild treatment, and liberal conduct towards an enemy fallen, and at our mercy, merit a kindly recollection, and a grateful return, under a reverse of fortune, we assuredly were entitled to both, from all descriptions of men in Buenos Ayres. Waving a right to captures made afloat, every bark was restored to its proper owner, and the pecuniary claims of every individual upon the public treasury were adjusted, until they exceeded the funds lodged in that depository. The review of such generous, and honourable acts must doubtless operate with a due impression upon the feelings of every worthy South American of the present day, and although we were denied the fruits of them, we are entitled to transfer, as we most cheerfully assign their harvest, to our fellow-countrymen, who I trust will have an ample reaping in the universal esteem, and the national favour of that rising people. The film is now drawn from their eyes, they see things as they are, and will judge for themselves, independently, and aright. Let our first intercourse with them be frank, let neither religious, or political topics be discussed without arising from themselves, and even then let there be few displays upon either, and if the native integrity of the British merchant holds an equal superiority with his commodities, in those distant regions, he will soon establish a permanent ascendancy above all others in the world, and can

naturalize himself, without a difficulty, in the common privileges and affections of a fellow-subject.

Notwithstanding that in 1806, as in preceding times of war, the warehouses as well as outer yards, were stuffed with tallow and hides, the real staples of their traffic, yet there appeared little desire in the merchants to dispose of them, or to avail themselves of the inducements from a free trade, or an English market, both open to their choice, while we possessed the city. Every thing indicated distrust; a spirit warmly cherished by the Cabildo, and the heads in power both of Church and State, who had taken the oaths of allegiance to the British Government, which obligations were reciprocally sealed by us, in a rigid respect for the sanctuary and its rites, and the undisturbed maintenance of their established laws.

While we remained in Buenos Ayres, we had no opportunity of observing the splendour attached to the sovereign representative. A voluntary exile, he had thus terminated his political life, which was prolonged in the Royal Audiencia, a court formed entirely of native Spaniards, and holding a supremacy over all others throughout South America. It consisted of a regent, three oidores, or magisterial members, two fiscals, for the financial and justiciary departments, an alguazil-major, and a reporter. Their dress was neat and plain, being a black robe in the form of a cloak, with the rest correspondent to it. As

their offices were derived from the king alone, who also paid them, and as all their future hopes of still more exalted dignities pointed exclusively to the throne, so they were faithfully devoted to its interests. Loyalty, high birth, talents and moral character, were the indispensable characteristics of every candidate to a seat in it. Assimilating to our House of Lords, no oaths were prescribed to them, and like to the balance in our own legislature, they served to restrain at the same time, the excess of power in the monarch, and of ambition in the people. Although they could not control any sentence pronounced by the Viceroy, nor stay its execution in criminal matters, still they possessed the right of an appeal to the King, as well as to the council of the Indies at Madrid, in civil cases, praying a reversal of them, upon grounds of law and equity, and if it was solidly represented, their petition was respected. In this land of bigotry, and of ecclesiastic preponderance, even the heads of the church were amenable to that tribunal, under erroneous decrees whether as to law or justice, and where a breach of either appeared, they were subject to punishment or censure. Their proceedings were annually transmitted for royal retrospect, in order to become documents of their activity in determining suits, of their uprightness in such decisions, and thus to impress on them a sense of their own responsibility. In short their duties embraced at once the great good of the

Mother Country, and the guardian care of the security and happiness of the Colonists.

Endued with so high authority over such a range of dominion to which their power extended, and to ensure a faithful discharge of their functions, as well as to stamp a veneration in the public opinion, of every member who sat upon its benches, (the Court of Audienza was always supposed to consist of men, who from the day of their appointment withdrew from all social intercourse, that could vitiate the heart or the will, who resigned all the trappings of shew or the indulgence of appetite, and to subscribe to a coercive moral code, more appropriate for the rules of the priesthood, than suited to the observance of a set of laity, who had been long habituated to the fashions and the pleasures of the world.) Possessing, or at least appearing to possess, such high qualifications, no wonder then that this establishment should have been held in universal respect, that combining with these, an honourable dispensation of the laws, and a wide influence from their high stations, they were well calculated to command the general allegiance within their respective boundaries, and that so constituted, it has been the great means of sustaining as his representative, the grandeur of the monarch, and the perpetuation of his empire over those distant provinces. Whatever may be their future destinies, or whatever the events of revolution, that body will never sacrifice their loyalty.

The Cabildo, or corporation, is the active magistracy of the city, in all civil affairs of minor import, and its police. Their sentences are revocable by the Audiencia, and something like our Courts of Assize, they occasionally resolve themselves into two courts for the trial of civil and criminal causes. Their President was the Governor of the province, absent or not, and its members consisted in two alcaldes, annually chosen by the regidores, one of the former of whom as senior, carried a white wand as a badge of distinction; those regidores were nominated by the Governor, besides four others of the same title, who were appointed by the Crown, and the same number denominated under the *alferez-real*, *provinci-alcalde*, *fiel-executors* and *alguazil-major*; all of them being venal. To these a syndic was annexed, to whom references were made under legal doubts, and a registrar who was the depositary of their records. The whole had a deliberative voice, and while the courts were employed, they were crowded with advocates, attorneys, and public notaries. At the time we remained at Buenos Ayres, the Cabildo was composed of more than the usual proportion of Europeans by birth, for according to the wise policy of Spain in her colonial system, the Creoles had an inherent privilege of being elected into that body. This incense paid to their pride ensured their fealty, while it conferred a natural right that involved no bad consequences to the state. Those institutions were co-eval with the empire of Spain in South America, and they were

planned with a view to its consolidation by the facilities they afforded for redress to litigants in distant quarters, as also for the regulation of those villages amongst which they were scattered; but they have since been gradually diminished, and they are now fixed only in towns, that necessarily require them from an increase of population. Their progress in business was very slow, caused by their voluminous writings, which required hours to read over, besides the time engrossed in a discussion of their merits. Those judges seemed to have much more of buckram importance, than of quickness in their verdicts. Great exterior deference was paid to them by the popular mass, to whose irregular passions they could give any direction they chose. At any other crisis of affairs, this corporation might have been inclined, notwithstanding its majority of Spaniards, to have espoused revolutionary objects, because they were mostly individuals, who by a blending of connexion and interest, were doomed to finish their days upon the soil, and who having bidden an everlasting adieu to Europe, had thus identified their properties and happiness in those of South America. But our hostile coming revived in them all their national animosities, and drowned every other feeling but the thoughts of our extirpation. This impulse actuated all their native colleagues in office too, who possessed but little political comprehension beyond the events of the moment, and whose loyalty combined with their interest, induced a ready

acquiescence in any scheme suggested for the conduct of the body at large.

As the clergy, under their dignitary the bishop, had absorbed by right so much revenue to themselves, so they engrossed a great share of influence over that and other subordinate branches of the administration, besides the general reverence in which they were personally viewed, from their sacred profession, by a devoted, and a bigotted crowd. That head of the church had in his earlier days, attained the rank of major in the Spanish armies, and it may be deduced that he had thus acquired some military knowledge, which ambition, and the existing crisis, stimulated him to recal into action. He was endued besides, with an elegant address, with a plausibility inspiring confidence, and an intriguing turn, to which these qualities were very useful auxiliaries.

I have been thus prolix in describing the various branches of the dynasty which ruled over Buenos Ayres while we held it, and in delineating the motives that guided their measures, as necessary contexts in understanding the series of a drama where they were the principal actors, from the prologue to its close. It must be remarked moreover, that all of them recognized the British dominion under tests of their oaths, or pledges, equally binding, consistent with their public, and private feelings, to preserve their neutrality, and to continue peaceable subjects under its reign. Although these transactions are dis-

tant as to time, and are apparently quite unconnected with the history of South America as to the present æra, still I am led to conclude that they will be found to have a close intimacy, upon a review of circumstances from first to last, and that those breaches of honour which were exercised upon us in 1806, by the Spanish Authorities, were the first foundation stones of the revolutionary fabric which was laid in that capital in 1810—by their detaining our persons in defiance of a solemn stipulation to the contrary, by extending with them consequently, an association of our opinions amongst an ignorant community, and by exciting a military spirit in the natives, self-defensive in its origin, but invigorated by growth, and finally powerful, and enlightened enough, to pull down those who raised it, and to build the independence of their country upon the ruins.

Soon after the surrender of Buenos Ayres, Colonel Liniers, a French emigrant, and a captain of their navy under the monarchy, who commanded a small force at Ensenada, being conscious of his inability to defend it, resolved to compromise the recent disasters of his government, by a deep stroke of artifice. In order to have interviews with those leading men in the city, whom he knew were well inclined to second his schemes, and with a motive the more readily to arrange them, he affected great candour by forwarding his own submission, and that of his garrison, to General Beresford, with a request that he might be allowed to enter the capital, when he would

consummate this tender, by subscribing his parole as a prisoner of war; stating also the intention of abandoning his military, to resume his former commercial pursuits. Upon this assurance he was admitted, and though from delicacy, a written pledge was not exacted from him, still one, equally imperative, was declared by him verbally to that effect, upon honour. At this period, and long preceding it, swarms of French agents were scattered over the country, whose persons and residences were well known to this faithless adventurer. He justly reckoned upon them as accomplices, whenever their services might be wanted, and although he could lay no claim to those abilities, or that firmness of character, so essential to head an enterprize, yet he compensated for those deficiencies by an unprincipled cunning, and by a greater confidence in the resources of others, than of his own. A dissolute life, and low habits, that commonly engender similar associations, had rendered him generally known, and perhaps popular amongst many of the inferior orders. From that class he could draw thousands to follow him to the field. Liniers' sojournment in Buenos Ayres was no longer than while he could render himself master of our numbers, of our military system, and to settle with some elects in power, a plan of simultaneous revolt.

In this grand co-operation, the bishop had his share by means of his subordinates. Throughout the month of July, but especially towards its close, the emigration of the clergy,

by passports which were rarely denied, was very great, to the side of Colonia, on the pretence of sacerdotal duties. After landing there, a part of them bent their way to Monte Video, while others took an opposite course into the country; but both under like objects to collect all the troops of the Crown, who were in that fortress, with the little detachments stationed along the guardias upon the Indian frontiers, as well as to promote a general rising of the people. So extended was the plot, that the priesthood to a considerable distance, exerted ever Sunday; all their powers to stimulate their hearers to arms. Those are the details of the origin, and progressive means employed to reconquer Buenos Ayres in 1806.

During the currency of those events, however, it appeared we had some latent friends within it, for almost every evening, after dark, one or more of the creole citizens repaired to my house, to make a voluntary offer of their allegiance to the British government, and to attest their names in a book, to an obligation that had been drawn up. The number finally amounted to fifty-eight, and most of them concurred in saying, that many others were disposed to follow their example, but were kept back from diffidence as to the future, and not from any political scruples, or a want of attachment toward us. But we will resign this topic for the present, until a more appropriate occasion of circumstances. Amidst these passing scenes, every thing assumed the

face of happiness, hospitality reigned; the laws had their course, and the worshippers of the sanctuary attended as usual, without any one to make them afraid. Most of our officers were lodged in private families, who paid them the kindest attentions, which laid the foundation of reciprocal friendships. They afforded many examples of a natural goodness of heart, and they were so often, and so generally exhibited as to convince us that benevolence was a national virtue. The fair sex are interesting, not so much from their education, than a pleasing address, a facetious conversation, and the most amiable tempers. It was winter when we were masters of Buenos Ayres, during which tertullos, or dances were given every evening, at one house or another. Thither all the neighbouring females resorted without ceremony in their long cloaks, and when not engaged, they drew close together, seemingly to warm each other, upon a long form, as there were no chimneys, and fire was used only in extreme cold, being brought into the room in a brazero, which is placed near to the feet, over which a stranger never fails to experience a head-ach from the fumes of the charcoal. No refreshments were offered on these occasions, to which few were specially invited, and where all, if but slightly introduced, were welcome. Waltzes were the vogue, and the piano, accompanied by the guitar, on which all degrees play, was the music. No other matron, except that in the house was present, who was their sole protectress, and the whole

departed at ten at night. When any of the clergy intruded, a general reserve was observed, and so bound were the ladies by a temporary sense of decorum, and of servile fanaticism, that they exclusively addressed themselves to him during his stay. There were some literary and gentlemanlike members amongst the secular priesthood, but the plurality we saw were better calculated for agents of the devil, by their ignorance, their vices, and illiberality, than as spiritual elects in propogating the sacred truths of their christian calling, and its generous precepts.

Music was held as a preeminent accomplishment, and no expence was spared in that attainment, either as to instruments, or compositions. These articles will always have a ready sale in Buenos Ayres, as they have a partiality for both, when of English manufacture.

Like in all countries bordering on a state of nature, poetry seems the leading genius of the lower classes in this part of South America, for upon any one being asked to play a tune on the guitar, he will always adapt to it a set of extemporaneous and accordant verses, with much facility.

The male heads of families shewed great kindness to us, by their offers of money, and every comfort, but there was always a visible reserve in them, and an evident peevishness, upon the mention of any religions or political subjects, that necessarily interfered with their own notions. Those who presumed to broach

them, very soon perceived an alienation of their favour and their cordial manners, and some Englishmen who had thus incautiously committed themselves, were no longer welcome visitors. I received one day an invitation to dinner from a captain of engineers, the particulars of which I will describe, as being probably demonstrative of the general customs on occasions of ceremony. All who sat down to a very long table profusely covered, were three, his wife, Captain Belgrano, and myself. No domestics were present at any time, except when bringing in or carrying away the various courses, which consisted in twenty-four removes; the first being soup and bouille, and in succession ducks, turkeys, and every thing produced in the country, with a large dish of fish as a finale—and we were served during the repast, by four of their nearest male relatives, who never sat down. The wines of St. Juan and Mendoza were circulated freely, and while we were enjoying our segars, the lady of the house, with two others who stepped in, amused us with some pretty English and Spanish airs upon the guitar, accompanied by those female voices. We dined at two, and the party broke up to their siesta at four o'clock.

In 1806 the population of Buenos Ayres did not exceed 41,000; the fifth of which were whites, the rest being a compound breed throughout various stages of connexion, and progressive changes, from the negro to the hue of the clearest European. Although the colour

may be improved, yet in its most refined state there often remains a stamp of features which reminds many of them of their true original. Superior to mechanic employ and averse to them, both from pride and indolence, the Spaniard and the blanched Creole, leave such to be pursued by their darker fellow-subjects, who are industrious in their respective callings as shoemakers, tailors, barbers, free-hired servants, keepers of dram-shops, carpenters, and little retail-traders. There were only two blacksmiths in the city, who were very slow in their work, but solid in the finish. All sorts of iron and steel were in very great demand, and a set of horseshoes cost five dollars, while the animal might be purchased for two. These in a manufactured state, and incorporated as a part of the ballast in any vessel, would always find a ready market; and provided they are not offered in too great a glut, would yield a high return. As they seldom put any upon the hinder feet, a proportion of three to one of the fore, should be shipped in every adventure. A speculation in watches if they are capped and jewelled, and bear the impression of a London maker, will rarely fail upon a limited scale, but they must be of warranted goodness. Owing to the refuse of these, as well as of other goods, having been poured into Buenos Ayres sometime after its conquest, by needy emigrants from England, who cared little for national repute, a considerable prejudice existed against every article with the marks of its manufacture for a long period subsequent to the recap-

ture of the place. Allured more by shew than quality, of which but few were competent to judge, they were still more vindictive than uninstructed, under impositions. A knowing one may practice the artifice once, but he will be designated ever after by all in trade. The mercantile branches being so reserved, few conclusions could be drawn of their professional attainments, and although I slept in the counting-house of a gentleman who had a considerable tannery upon the river, and when times were better, an extensive correspondence with Europe, yet I never observed him to make any other entries of his daily transactions, than upon scraps of paper, or minutes in a small book, which always lay upon his desk, and it is more remarkable as his son had passed two years in London, in a great mercantile house, purposely to accomplish himself as a complete man of business. A cause of this, in part may be, that as cash is the only medium of their dealings, few engrossments are necessary. In their friendly offers of pecuniary accommodations to us, in which they were very sincere, ours in return of bills of exchange were sternly declined, seemingly from a misapprehension of their meaning. In short the shackles that had been placed against a free intercourse with the world, its monopoly having been for centuries confined to Spain, the total inattention paid to them in their earlier days, had limited their conceptions to their own narrow sphere, had rivetted their affections and devotion to the Parent

State, which seclusions from all others, at Buenos Ayres and Cordova, had taught them to consider the greatest upon earth, and a religious superstition had absorbed all the remainder of their faculties, by its sovereign assertion over their credulous and untutored minds.

A great portion of the clerical orders, little short of eleven hundred, was in the same intellectual degradation, but far more depraved in their morals. Teachers of the christian doctrine without comprehending it, devout mimics in all ceremonies of their church, which they were incapable of understanding, and licensed instructors of precepts they were the first to violate, no wonder that in such hands, knowledge should be stifled, that the forms should supersede the real essence of goodness, and that crimes should triumph over the laws of God under the prevalence of such a sway. Exceptions from these banditti, are the higher grades, those who are delegated from Spain as missionaries, and the youth who from the first are destined for orders, and undergo the regular preparative by a classical course of study in the college at Buenos Ayres, and Cordova. As our sick, and afterwards our wounded men, were removed to the convent of St. Dominice for cure, I had often the opportunity of witnessing the system, the mild treatment, and the medical abilities of some of the brotherhood in that society. It may be said to combine a regular progress of divinity, botany, and surgery. Under two fathers,

are twenty lay-brothers, who are always employed in the spacious gardens attached to the building, in planting, collecting, and ascertaining the virtues of their unbounded productions, in administering medicines to the sick, for which there are some airy wards; in lesser domestic attentions, by turns, and in those stated duties of devotion which are rigidly observed in this well-ordered cloister. There were very often seen amongst them some fine young men, aspirants for the church, entitled novices, dressed in black mantles, with belts round their waists and otherwise extremely genteel. The heads of this seminary often go their rounds into those districts, that are within the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres, where the Indian religious establishments are placed. These have undergone three successive changes in their title, under those of reductions, missions, and presidencies which have become now their general denomination. They are planted throughout a great part of Paraguay, and to some distance on both sides of the river Parana. Upon every excursion in their holy office, the fathers are accompanied by a number of those noviciates, no doubt with a view to inculcate in them the most important branches of their future destinies, by an acquaintance with the natural tempers of their rude scholars, the rules and regulations of those local institutions, and still more to impress on their minds the best practicable means of being useful labourers, by definitions from ocular examples. Every member within

this establishment shewed great attention to all enquiries made about their patients, were eager to converse with us, and peculiarly inquisitive concerning the state of pharmacy and surgery in England, upon which we could give but little information. Every indigenous plant almost on the Parana, is in their gardens, and by constant study, with a cool process of analysis, they have converted the properties of many of them to the benefit of man. An European botanist may very much abridge his trouble in selection, by paying an early visit to this fraternity, who will confirm beyond this delineation, their liberality of opinion, and kindness, by the most frank communications. The Franciscan order here, is another very enlightened body, but we were often pestered by a set of mendicants named Carmelites, who wear white cloaks, are barelegged, and have sandals tied across the feet. The best use to which they can be applied would be to recruit the army, for they exercise no function, are held in contempt by the people, and many of them are stout fellows. They are extremely importunate, and are a great nuisance.

The medical profession was at a low ebb indeed, at the same time there are none upon whom the arts of quackery might be more successfully practiced, than the Creoles. Having an exalted opinion of every English practitioner, into whatever society he might enter, the females generally affected to be unwell, and sought advice. The symptom

was denoted by a patch on one of their temples, and the common complaint a lassitude, with head-ach. As little art was necessary to dispel it, being caused by want of exercise, some of us became empirics, and prescribing happily, our talents obtained repute, but a striking instance occurred, which evinced the general partiality for our countrymen, in Dr. Forbes, who being left behind in charge of our sick and wounded, after the recapture of the city, was so exclusively consulted, to the prejudice of the faculty in Buenos Ayres at large, that a memorial for his removal was presented to the government with effect, but not until he had amassed some thousands of dollars from four months practice. By the general peace, many meritorious individuals at home, have been thrown loose, in this pursuit, who, from a want of employ, are converted into a part of the excess of our population. Such adventurers will not only find bread, but wealth in those parts of South America, and they will be a valuable accession not alone by their professional exertions, but by the effects of their superior education, amongst an uncivilized community. Their persons would always be secure in that reverence which is rendered, to the general usefulness of their calling; as it is nearly equal to that paid to the higher grades of the priesthood. Such an emigrant would find an account by taking with him a large stock of medicines, as well as of the most approved instruments accompanying him. Like all other blessings, that of drugs which

are in such abundance, is lost from an ignorance of chemistry, and their prices in Buenos Ayres, are double upon such exports from home.

As agriculture, not mineralogy, is the natural source of prosperity in the regions of La Plata to a great extent, a wide field in this branch lays open to enterprize. Proceeding into the country from the capital, it is with serious regret the traveller beholds the seemingly interminable plains that offer to the eye, upon whose surface, the luxuriant crops rise from year to year, only to perish upon it, and as they were the common property of every man, who chose to be industrious, it is a great reflection upon all, that so few availed themselves of so near, and so permanent an emolument. Every morning, grass was brought in small bunches, that had ready sale, and each fetched a real; according to which calculation, a waggon load might have easily realized thirty-five dollars, with only the labour of cutting, and driving it. But although a love of money is the general characteristic, yet this œconomy was confined to a few, and to a morning supply, which might have been profitably repeated by another in the evening. Clover, with bran from the bakers, was the food of all descriptions of cattle in Buenos Ayres. Whatever form of legislature may ultimately reign, nay even during a crisis of revolution, the encouragement of husbandry being its obvious interest, must be its primary object, and as no race upon the globe is better

qualified to accelerate the science into immediate perfection than our own, its hardy sons will be hailed with joy, and embraced with welcome. As their sphere of action would be limited to an entirely level, and chiefly a loamy soil, both ploughs and harrows ought to be light, and the speculatist might risk a number beyond his own wants, because public spirit would compensate to him for individual languor in purchasing every useful implement, for the good of the whole.

As refinement must produce a demarkation of property, those plains which at present scarcely recognize an owner, will soon be occupied, by purchases, or by grants from the state—inclosures will quickly be reared by the jealousy of their possessors, and the numerous herds that now wildly roam through their pastures, heedless of a master, will ere long, be collected by a legal partition, into separate pens, and though brutes, they will yet participate in the universal reform. This happy æra, whenever it may be, is the judicious moment for a broad speculation. It will be long before the value of land can attain the ratio of its produce, for the items of bread in Buenos Ayres, and all sorts of corn bear an exorbitant price. Hay has never been made, but the crops would not be credited by a stranger in their probable amount. It is enough to say that the grass will reach the shoulders of a tall man, and during that season the weather is steady and serene through the harvest. This simple improve-

ment in grain and feeding, would yield an immense profit to the adventurer, and in a short space would stamp a high character upon their exports of beef, which is one of the most important staples of this part of South America. From the manner, and the temper of blood in which the animal has been hitherto butchered, it could not be expected that its meat was calculated for cure. The ox marked out, has been pursued at full speed until lassoed by the horseman, another in the chase does the same, and both striking off at opposite angles, either threw him down, or retarded his progress, while a third dismounting, hamstringed him in both hinder legs, and then cut his throat. In this state of fever was he killed, skinned, and after an inadequate bleeding, the flakes of flesh were torn off, put into a barrel of brine, during twenty-four hours, dried in the sun after being drained, and packed up for use or traffic. Owing to the green food, and no sugar being mixed with the preparation, the meat became hard, and sometimes putrid; in which state it will never repay except in the West Indies, where it is readily bought up for the negroes, who have generally a strong predilection for food very salt, and even tainted.

With all those hereditary advantages, Buenos Ayres and its dependencies, have been greatly indebted to their more industrious neighbours in the Rio Grande Brazils, for wheat which arrives in hides sewed up like sacks, besides a sort of rum named cania, sweetmeats, sugar,

rice, and cotton-cloths that are worn by the people of colour.

Long fettered in their commerce, as well as their political sentiments, it would be presumptuous to detail those articles of import, best adapted for the various degrees in this population. Upon a general review from an experience of mankind, we are taught to expect that most of them have ceased to be the slaves of fashion, after a certain climax of life, and it is not to that description I would venture to apply my theories; but the short period of our reign, evinced a proneness in the youth to follow our customs, and in some respects our dress. Having renounced the sovereignty of Spain, they will perhaps under a political as well as a hostile impulse, also abolish her costumes and her manners, and from the same transient feeling will adopt those of the most favoured nation. In this catalogue none stands higher than England, notwithstanding the more open part which North America has taken in their cause. A prejudice amongst the Buenos Ayrians was formed against that country, from a supposition that a plot was formerly in agitation by a number of captains of trading vessels with their crews at that time in the river, to seize upon the city by surprize, to ransack its wealth, and to depart with it. Although this surmise did not interrupt an intercourse so absolutely essential to their wants, yet there are lurking reflections upon it in many a heart, and it will operate as a lasting restraint against ex-

tending to those brother-citizens, their confidence, or regard. In this presumption, our goods will meet a preference, as well as the more flippant ones of the toilet. But in all, an eye must be had to the religious prepossessions of the natives, which will never change further, than in an abatement of its bigotry.

This list may be shortly comprized in household furniture, musical instruments, and compositions, hardware of all sorts, long knives in sheaths always worn by the Peons, hammers, wedges, pickaxes, steam-engines, mechanical manufactures of shew and genius, fowling-pieces, with all their ammunition in mahogany boxes, lead in every form, black and blue cloths, stout woollen-cloths, printed cottons for gowns and pantaloons, calicoes, nankeens, boots, shoes, kerseymeres, mostly sky-blue, low cotton-cloths, blankets, ladies' dresses the most modern, their shoes and silk stockings ornamented, cheese, butter, flower, and garden seeds. As sales are often flat, it would be very eligible to establish an auction room, to be open at stated periods, for public biddings, which would prevent an overflow in the markets, and combine the general interests of every agent under one contract and price, by a proportion from each being exposed to vendure, and in such lots as to accommodate the petty shopman and the wholesale-trader. Such an establishment would convene many from the interior, beyond the various orders in the city, for the latter were their usual mediums of supply. There were duties of four

per cent upon such transactions while under the monarchy.

If churches are specimens of true religion, Buenos Ayres must hold a high rank for good morals; from morning till night the bells toll for devotion, whither crowds of devotees repaired. The lower orders usually attended early, and the better females resorted daily to mass at noon, in long black cloaks drawn over their faces, with their beads and crucifixes on their arms, and a female slave behind carrying a prayer-book. The ceremony is soon finished by each, and there was a constant thoroughfare of those pious passengers, until the doors were closed. The city contains six parishes, two monasteries, six convents, a very handsome college, the remains of jesuit architecture, a house for poor orphans, and a foundling hospital. The churches are all neat, but the cathedral exceeds them all in grandeur, standing on the North-west of the grand square, and its door facing the street of the Holy Trinity, which runs N. W. and S. E. nearly the whole range of the town. Its exterior is elegant, having a cupola and a portico, but the embellishments within are too gaudy for the sanctuary of God. It contains a fine historical painting of the Acts of the Apostles, which produces a striking effect. In the Franciscan church there is also an exquisite performance, by a reformed Indian, descriptive of the last supper, which was executed under the superintendence of the jesuit fathers, who had presented it to the heads of that order. The

frame-work which is made of feathers dyed like gold, is so well and closely constructed, that it appears even when near, to be a light-coloured carving. There are many other places of worship which possess interest, such as those of St. Francis, St. Domingo, of noted story, and of Mary, besides that of St. John's, which stands on the South-western suburbs, and is exclusively devoted for the worship of those neophytes, who are employed in Buenos Ayres in the various drudgeries of the public service.

The streets, twelve in number, proceed in a North-west direction, and run parallel with the Plata, having two half-ones upon the North-east, and four on the South-west, which terminate in many dirty houses near to the Plaza del Toros. The former are intersected eight times in their course at right-angles, have broad side-pavements, and the principal dwellings have projected iron railings, whither the ladies repair in the evening to breathe the cool air, and to gratify their curiosity. The outer doors are of strong materials, and like the housetops, which are flat, communicating with one another, and all having high parapets, they seem to have originated in a plan to serve as joint-barriers, against the sudden attacks of their savage neighbours in the Pampas, who in former days rushed precipitately upon the inhabitants, and without any warning. Nearer to the river, and to the North of the Toros, the arsenal stood, which was an open spot upon which lay blank shells, and pyramids of shot, and from hence there is

a passage to the fort along the beach, but over rugged ground leading to the East. A little above, and to the South-west of the Plata, is the grand parade, having in the same corner the Cabildo, or Townhouse, and nearly opposite to it is the Chief Fortress, which in our time was a miserable defence for so important a city. The cannon were honey-combed, their carriages rotten, the walls low and in part demolished towards the square, and the ditches choaked up with rubbish, besides a drawbridge over it, into the castle, where the Governor resided, and a chapel for him and his attendants. This place of defence was neither calculated to protect Buenos Ayres, nor to repel maritime invasion, or insult, as the water within the range of its guns, is too shallow for vessels to approach.

That social intercourse which was offered to us, gave occasion to notice the manners and usages of different families, and as human nature is intrinsically the same through ages, and partakes not of the fleeting fashions of every succeeding generation, it may be presumed that any delineation upon the former, may very properly be couched in the present, and not the past tense. Amongst the most amiable traits of the Creolian character, there is none more conspicuous, and none that more impressively bespeaks an unfeigned benevolence, than their conduct towards their slaves. Often a witness to the harsh treatment of those fellow-mortals in the West Indies, of the total indifference to their religious instruction there so universally

prevalent, I was instantly struck with the contrast between our planters, and those South Americans. These unhappy exiles from their own country, are no sooner purchased at Buenos Ayres, than the master's first care is to instruct his bond-servant in the native language of the place, and in the general principles as well as the creed of his own faith. This sacred branch is committed to a priest, who reports when his scholar has attained sufficient knowledge of his catechism, and of the sacramental duties, to take upon himself the vows of baptism. Although this process at best must be superficial, still it has a tendency to inspire a sense of dependence upon a Supreme Being, it enforces a serious deportment, tranquillizes the temper, and reconciles those sufferers to their lot. Until thus naturalized, the negroes from Africa, and their brother-natives of America, are stigmatized by the vulgar, as infidels, and barbarous. The owners were, so far as I could notice, equally attentive to their domestic morals. Every morning, before their mistress went to mass, she assembled the females in a ring upon the floor, both young and old, to whom needle-work or knitting was assigned, according to their capacities. All seemed chearful, and I doubt not but admonition too entered their circle. Before and after dinner, and also at supper, one of these ultimately was introduced to implore a blessing, and to return thanks, which they were taught to think as duties of preeminence, and they always performed them

with solemnity. Parental respect seemed not to be a ceremonious, but an innate expression. No junior member presumed to sit down until both father and mother shewed the example, and their mutual address seemed affectionate and wellbred. After meals the head takes up a segar, but no one ventures to do so until his assent is signified by a nod.

A series of sameness predominates over the economy of their tables—chocolate and sweet cakes is the common breakfast of the higher orders, soup having a hodge-podge of pork cut small, beef, pease, and numerous vegetables; or another sort with eggs, bread, and spinnage with meat in tatters is the first course; which is followed by beef, roasted to rags, and finally by fish swimming in oil, perfumed with garlic. The ladies drink nothing but water, and the gentlemen regale either on white wine of St. Juan or the red from Mendoza, places in the province of Cuyo, and the latter touching upon the Andes, during the repast; after which they smoke and go to siesta, awaking about five to smell the air, not to take that exercise so indispensable for health. The same is repeated at ten o'clock, and bed is again their refuge. Such a train of indulgences produces a corpulency in most, together with a mental langour, but a steady sobriety, with the frequent use of the herb of Paraguay, tend to counteract those disorders that might naturally be expected. Although the Philippine Company had an agent and a large depot at Buenos Ayres, with imports of

tea, yet it never was demanded :—as a great favour he spared me a pound at the exorbitant price of three dollars.

The very reserved and austere manners of the gentlemen, but more especially of the true Spaniards, were strong interdicts against conversation, and whatever passed, related to the trifling occurrences of the day. Any queries upon the the general state of the country were always evaded by an immediate transition to another topic. But the ladies compensated most amply by a lively chat, the most fascinating sweetness, and by what never fails in its purpose, a desire to please. Their genuine goodness was more strongly attested in the subsequent days of our misfortunes. Their dress is little suited to set off the displays of their persons, having no gowns but a sort of jacket which covers the top of their petticoats, their shoulders and heads being covered by a hood that obscures a part of their faces ; they wear no cap, and their long black hair is tied into a close bunch at the top, fixed by a highly ornamented comb. This must be considered by them as a most becoming appendage, for their children, of only a few months old, and in the mother's arms, have their little tops bound in a like way, in the most funny stile. It is laughable to see those infants, of both sexes, in their breeches, which add to their fantastical appearance. Very high shoes, and bespangled silk stockings, generally adorn the female leg.

In speaking of different families of the same

surname, they distinguish the native Spanish from the Creolian, by the title of Chapetone.

Notwithstanding the imagined wealth of South America, yet there are few quarters where mendicity is more visible. The abundance of food prevents starvation, but the poverty of the lower classes is always apparent in their garments, and their filth. Crowds wander through Buenos Ayres, as there are few establishments of charity for their support, who meet but little pity, as the pecuniary sources of the middling classes are drained by the superstitions of the church, or to maintain the lowest, and most worthless of its members. Besides these conscientious calls upon their purses, as well as the regulated taxation, the rich inhabitants were amenable to the sudden and arbitrary requisitions of the government, when the public treasury was empty. Three of these were demanded while I was a prisoner from one family, and the payments were required to be made after the notice of a day. The plea of inability was vain, for confiscation to the amount, or personal imprisonment would have been the fate of the defaulter.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN the middle of July, a circumstance developed that a plot existed for the overthrow of our power, and that the Cabildo were chief actors in it. Intelligence was received that a large magazine of gunpowder had been formed at Fleuris, about three leagues from the city, which, as being a military dependency, ought to have been delivered up along with it, agreeably to the laws of honour. This however was reserved as a depot for their levies in the country, which were collecting from afar with the ultimate view of its reconquest, and supplies from it had been already pushed on to an army in a state of forwardness under the command of Puerridon. Captain Ogilvie was ordered thither to complete our own tumbrils, and his orders were to explode the remainder. Some one of the magistracy held the keys, although all disavowed it; for otherwise it would have been a serious impeachment, and must have involved the punishment of the whole body. We had two killed, and several badly wounded upon that service from accidents. In so very wide a city, it were impossible to observe or to check the workings of the people. Nightly meetings took place among them to be trained to arms, and several instances occurred of our advanced sentries being forcibly carried off, mounted and in-

stantly driven into the interior, or closely confined until a favourable occasion of doing so. In this state, many of the friars tried to seduce our men from their duty, by the most tempting rewards, but all withstood them except a few of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Simultaneous with these incidents, and to evince that the whole were conducted upon a plan of combination, another may be adduced, which must altogether prove that they could neither originate in, or be directed by a portion of disaffected citizens, but that they were sanctioned by, and received the aids of the supreme authorities. Opposite to the barracks of the 71st regiment, there stood a seminary belonging to the order of St. Francis, which, with all the contiguous houses, were gradually deserted by the students and tenants. A narrow street intervened between both, and a mine was dug from the college, across to the South-west angle of the soldiers' rooms. A drumboy in one of them, remarked to his serjeant that he had been repeatedly disturbed by a noise during the night, as if proceeding from labourers beneath him. An expedient was adopted by laying several musquets, barrels uppermost, gently secured, upon the floor, upon which some pins were placed, so as to be deranged by the smallest concussion. One morning they were found upon the ground, but although an investigation was ordered yet nothing was discovered, because the mouth of the mine could not be retraced, but the fact was afterwards substantiated, and that the

infernal plot was to have blown up our men by means of thirty-six barrels of powder

Amidst these scenes of secrecy the bishop played his part with dexterity by a shew of the most obsequious respect, and a delusive friendship to General Beresford, while the officers in the government continued to render him their daily homage, and their hearty congratulations upon his safe return after having dispersed the army of Puerridon at Pedriall, about twenty miles from the city, upon the 2d of August. That skirmish was no farther remarkable, than in the daring push of two men from the ranks of the enemy, while ours were in a progress of advance, against the person of that chief. Being well-mounted, they gained unperceived to the rear of the right flank of the 71st regiment, when they made a furious charge in a direct line for the general, whose orderlies then happened to be at some distance; but Captain Arbuthnot who was near, kept one of them at bay. The other however still persevered, and would have struck the fatal blow, if Colonel Pack with his habitual coolness, had not drawn his attention, until Lieutenant Mitchel ordered a few files of his grenadiers to give their fire, which brought that dashing adventurer with his horse to the ground.

General Beresford's sword during this time, from rust, stuck fast in the scabbard. Another example of heroism, but arising from an erroneous impulse, was exhibited in a German Roman catholic, who had previously deserted

from us, upon this occasion. One of the enemy's guns was abandoned by all except that man, and although charged by a part of our troops, yet he resolutely stood fast and was taken with it. Being brought a prisoner into Buenos Ayres, he was afterwards tried and sentenced to be shot. Before the execution, the bishop in person, administered the sacrament to him, who was much hurt that the guard which was over him, did not take off their hats during the ceremony, and even an assurance made to him that such a deference was contrary to our rules of military discipline, did not at all mitigate the omission. That victim met his fate with firmness, and his anxious last request was, that his parents might for ever remain strangers to it.

At the intersected corners of almost every street in that capital, pulperias, or dram, and grocery shops, are established, that vend liquors, candles, and other articles. They are often so crowded by the scum of society, that there are two doors to each, both for the accommodation of the rabble, as well as for shelter against the noon, and the evening sun. Those resorts, like ours in our seaports during war, are commonly the property of some wealthy men unknown, who employ subordinate responsible agents to carry on the business. They are above six hundred in number, and yield a considerable revenue to the public. Our sentries were planted near to them through the day, to preserve order. Correspondent with the intrigues of their superiors, the

populace kept pace with them, but in a more manly way. The dispersion of their army at Pedriall on the 2d of August, had an evident effect upon the feelings of all ranks during three days after. They were unusually civil, but having learnt that no serious loss had accrued, every one resumed a degree of contemptuous insolence, by claiming the wall, and in other instances of petty insult. One day Lieutenant Sampson of the St. Helena Corps, while passing one of these shops, saw some of those fellows sally forth to wrest the musquet from the sentry which they effected, and he was dangerously stabbed in the act of aiding his brother-soldier. Remonstrances were made without avail, for in all references to the civil power, a few shrugs of the shoulders, and fair promises to get rid of importunity, were the only substitutes of solid remedy.

During this interval of narrative, Liniers had concentrated all his forces and having organized them at Colonia, he awaited the tide of events, when he might elude our gunboats at anchor above Buenos Ayres, and accomplish a debarkation of them upon the western bank of the river Conchas. That naval guard, happily for him, was in one night almost annihilated by an awful pamperos, which sunk the whole except two, leaving them in a disabled state. It was resolved however to attack his flotilla with this reserve, should he venture out. The advantage was too great to be lost, and he embraced it during a gale. After having chased one of our cruizers, whose orders were

to counteract his motions, he made good his landing with 2000 men, and ten pieces of cannon, upon the 6th of August. Heavy rains having fallen between the 4th and 8th, they retarded the junction of Puerridon's army, again rallied, until the 9th, and this could not have been effected without an unlimited command of horses. That present Franklin of his country, brought with him not only his own original strength, but a great accession to it of Catalans from Monte Video.

The only naval resistance we had now to offer, consisted in a small schooner, under Lieutenant Herrick, riding close to the beach, who opened his fire upon their encampment so successfully, as to compel Liniers to take up a new one out of sight, and at some distance. At that time the garrison of Buenos Ayres was prevented from meeting him in the field by the rugged roads, not in a condition to admit the transportation of artillery without a powerful drawing-train. During this critical moment, any demonstration upon the river must have shaken the confidence of the enemy, and diverted him awhile from his object. Not knowing the means within Sir Home Popham's reach to have retrieved our late naval disasters, I can only regret that his mental resources were no way equal to meet the difficulty, and that his professional exertions in this hour of danger, fell far short of general expectation, of the high importance of the stake at issue, and such as might have been looked for from his own feelings of ultimate responsibility. There

was a commercial vessel at this period, which had approached the city for traffic, that was of essential use to us. The *Justinia* of twenty-six guns, being lightened, was manned with officers and one hundred seamen from the Squadron, besides her own crew. On the day of our surrender she was well fought, and by her guns impeded all the movements of the Spaniards, not only along the beach, but in the different streets they occupied, which were also exposed to them. She offers a phenomenon in military events, that of a ship having been boarded, and taken by cavalry at the close of the 12th of August, from a sudden fall in the river.

Having approached the city upon the 10th, Liniers advanced with his whole force against a serjeant and seventeen men, which was most imprudently our total number then posted at the Retiro. These brave men occasioned some loss to the assailants, and covered with their bodies the ground they occupied, saving two, who escaped to us badly wounded. Along with this hostile step he also pushed on a flag to the gate of the castle demanding its immediate surrender. The bishop was at the moment in conference with General Beresford, within, which delayed for a time any attention being paid to the summons. The officer being impatient, threatened to return without one, but at last a negative was given. Throughout Sunday afternoon, and the whole of Monday the 11th of August, much fighting took place in the streets attended with heavy

losses to both sides. More persevering, but needless valour was never exhibited than by our soldiers against hosts of unseen opponents, and a few others who were more worthy to contend with them. These details would be too tedious, I therefore hurry on to those of another day, which was the death-blow to our short-lived reign in South America.

During the whole of the night of the 11th, a constant barking of dogs was heard from the Retiro and its vicinity, which indicated some extraordinary movements. The dawn of the 12th shewed us the churches and houses crowded with people, who only waited for the approach of Liniers to co-operate in the general onset. Most of the former, and all the latter commanded our bastions in the fort, and they likewise regulated the motions of their columns in the streets below them. Our orders were to spare the sanctuaries, but they became so troublesome from their fire of small guns and musquetry, that we could not refrain from indulging them with similar favours, which always produced a momentary pause. From my glass I could perceive the inferior clergy particularly active, both in managing their arms, and in directing their troops beneath them. The battle raged in every adjoining avenue to the castle, but wherever an enemy or a gun dared openly to combat with us, they were successively beaten or captured; such glories however were dearly bought, as they were finally unavailing. Our last stand was made at eleven, in the market-place, where the

gallant 71st regiment was formed with guns on each flank, and one in the centre. Every outpost had been previously withdrawn upon their respective bodies. At this hour our dispositions besides, were as follow: The marines and seamen were attached to the batteries within the castle, and the St. Helena corps were a little thrown out in two divisions, under the East and West bastions of it, which commanded the approaches from the streets of St. Domingo, and Three Kings, that run parallel with the Plata. A communication was maintained between them all.

As a feint to draw the enemy, so immensely superior, from his fortresses, the 71st fell back, but without its desired consequence. Nothing could tempt him to the open fight with all his numbers. Every minute diminished ours, and humanity dictated that such brave men should no longer be exposed as targets to the aim of a sanguinary, though dastardly multitude. Several officers had fallen, some were wounded, and the drawbridge was crowded by those who were borne upon the shoulders of their brother-soldiers into the fortress. An immediate retreat into it became expedient, after which the gate was shut, and two cannon were planted within to defend it. Previous to this a flag of truce was hoisted by us, and one was admitted from the enemy, during which interval, ever consecrated to peace, their army rushed like a torrent into the grand square before us, setting up a most hideous yell, and dragging on many guns, which they planted

within fifty paces of the gate-way. During this panic eight Frenchmen scaled the wall of the bastion which I commanded, who attempted to carry off some of the men's great coats, but on being told if they persisted we would cut them down, they retired. Curiosity induced me to look over the parapet, when above fifty musquets were discharged at my head from various quarters of the square, which would most certainly have been retaliated by a twenty-four pounder, loaded with grape, if I had not been peremptorily restrained. Captain Quintana, an aid-de-camp of General Liniers, observing this flagrant breach of honour, and having been introduced to negotiate terms of surrender with some French and Spanish officers, into the castle, he very spiritedly ascended the ramparts, when throwing open his waistcoat, and extending both arms at full length, he seemed to offer himself a victim to the unbridled rage of the rabble, and by his expressive gestures rebuked their indiscipline with instantaneous effect. If he lives, that young man will be an honour to his king and country. A tedious discussion ensued upon the parade in the fort, in which those Frenchmen took a leading share, who urged the danger of procrastination, and pledged their protection to us against the popular fury. Accordingly verbal terms were stipulated upon the spot, to be afterwards ratified; the leading articles of which consisted in "security to our persons and properties, and speedy embarkation for Europe, not to serve

until regularly exchanged, and that the expences of the voyage would be defrayed by the Spanish Government."

These conditions with others of minor import, were signed by Liniers four days after the 12th of August, but the deed was basely denied by him, from a servile compliance with the wishes of the ruling authorities, to qualify their dishonour, and from the selfish principle of exalting his own fame.

Our little army now reduced to less than 1000 musquets, being formed into distinct corps, were marched to the front of the Cabildo House, in the great square, through two irregular lines; the officers falling out after having cleared the drawbridge, while our gallant subordinates were moved on to that prison, each man grounding his arms, and undergoing a strict search before entering it. Many of them in obeying that injunction, strongly testified their feelings of indignity by dashing their musquets upon the ground. It appeared as if Liniers had selected this guard of honour upon the occasion, from the dregs of his troops, to mortify us.

The speech of that unhappy female outcast from the Jane Shore, who has been already hinted at, bespoke a burst of patriot pride in beholding the humiliating sight. Indifferent about the results to herself, she kept pace with our column vociferating to us "Look, look my brave fellows, at the set of ragged cowards to whom you have given in." Without refreshments, and huddled in filth, our men remained

many hours in that prison until they were dispersed amongst other places, and the officers, except the few who had contracted intimacies with private families during happier times, were abandoned to their own resources. The greater part took refuge in the castle during the night of the 12th, to avoid the outrages of a frantic mob, who appeared to assume to themselves the sovereign sway. Their forlorn situations having been represented to the Cabildo, billets were soon issued, and it is to the everlasting credit of the better inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, but more especially of the Creole branches, that their hospitable attentions were redoubled in our misfortunes, and that their amiable sensibilities towards our wounded, can never be forgotten.

While our men were immured in the prisons of the metropolis with but scanty food amidst plenty, and that too irregularly supplied, some examples of the most disinterested humanity, and of well-timed charities blazoned forth, in which the native females, and some of our exiled countrywomen, acted conspicuous parts. Two women who had once been criminals, but who were now married, gave daily instances of these virtues to our soldiers who were confined in the Residencia prison. Every morning they visited it with the money, clothes, and provisions, which they had collected through the preceding day from the well disposed, to which they never failed to contribute their own mite, and they loaded them with their benefits when they were put

in motion for the Upper Country. That doom was appointed for our men soon after the reconquest, and as their destinies were identified with those of their officers in the terms agreed on preliminary to that event, so early a measure towards them plainly shewed the decision resolved on as to us, and tends to blacken the more the mean shuffling, the indelible perfidy, and the dishonourable expedients of the Spanish government practised towards both classes of their prisoners. The solid interests of the Parent State have been often sacrificed to the short-sighted policy, the perverse ignorance, and the cruel despotism of her delegated servants in South America, who are now driven from their seats by her long loyal, but persecuted subjects: From the æra of the 12th of August, 1806, we may date their military origin, and character, from that day they began to know their own importance and powers as a people, and although they have little cause to exult in the triumph over but one effective regiment, still the issue infused a general confidence in themselves, a new spirit of chivalry amongst all, and a self-consciousness that they were not only equal in prowess, but superior in numbers to those more regular legions with whom they had co-operated, and by whom they had hitherto been so long kept under subjection.

Much as we had reason to complain of their want of public faith, still much do we, and our country, owe to individual benevolence

during the dark days of disaster. A tribute is due to such worth, not alone as a direct acknowledgment, but as a pattern for universal imitation.

My brother officer Captain M'Kenzie being most severely wounded on the day of our surrender, was billeted, by mistake, upon a house already pre-occupied by its due proportion of officers. This was ascertained while on his way to it, but being worn out by loss of blood and fatigue, he stepped, with his assistants, into the outer room of the family of Donna Escurras, where others had also been quartered, to rest until the return of his friend with another ticket. The ladies observing his state however, would not allow him to move, but insisted upon his continuance under their roof, until cured. It became a tedious process of five months, during the whole of which space, their attentions and hospitality were unrelaxed, and unbounded, and they consummated all by furnishing him with every comfort for his journey up the country, whither he was ordered upon the first symptoms of convalescence. Every recompence, however it was tendered, was nobly declined. The names of Galvis, Vidal, Romero, Terrada, and Barreda must be long recognized with gratitude for their protection and generous kindness to us, and many more, were it of use to enumerate them.

Notwithstanding that Liniers had subscribed to the capitulation, still the fulfilment of its conditions was delayed by new pretexts, from

day to day, sometimes the flour which was expected for our voyage, had not arrived, again, that other means for it were deficient, and lastly, with a still more plausible one, the sudden, and unaccountable departure of our transport vessels from the roadstead. It is impossible to allege a motive for the conduct of Sir Home Popham upon this occasion. It certainly furnished a strong apology for that of the Spanish Authorities, wavering between faith and dishonour, and they eagerly availed themselves of so specious a palliative to cover their final intentions, and to temporize with our feelings. As those vessels had nothing to dread from any naval attack, they being under the protection of a heavy frigate, this precipitate retreat is the more mysterious, and it was a fatal step for us at the time. Had they remained, some discussions might have been interchanged by flags of truce, which might have led to a release, or a melioration ; but at any rate they must have extorted an undisguised exposition of the reasons for our detention, and a sense of shame might have perhaps accomplished those ends, which neither threats nor arguments could produce.

Although our brave comrades had been marched into the country many hundreds of miles, in a woeful condition, soon after the recapture of Buenos Ayres, yet the men in power had the effrontery to persist in saying, that it was not meant as a violation of the treaty, but a necessary precaution for their personal safety, and in the same spirit of duplicity they

persevered in assurances of our speedy and joint restoration to our country. To sum up this history of artifice, they at last resorted to the pitiful trick of proposing to us all, the expediency of consummating our verbal pledges, by our written signatures of parole, as being requisite to appease the popular clamour in the mean time, and as an essential preliminary to our embarkation for Europe. Such being exacted, and obtained from most of us, under false pretences, consequently became null when the deceit was unfolded, and in this view every British officer, who subsequently escaped from the hands of so perfidious an enemy, stands fully vindicated in the eyes of the world, of his profession, and his country. We can cite a similar example from military record, and upon a far greater scale to this, in the convention of Closterseven, when the Hanoverian army under the Duke of Cumberland surrendered to the French upon conditions, which being broken by them, in part, it resumed its arms under Prince Ferdinand, achieved many victories under his auspices, and its conduct was not only acquitted, but applauded by Europe, and by mankind.

To give specimens of the character of the populace at this period, as well as of the imbecility of the laws, it is incumbent upon me to assume the style of an egotist.

From having officiated as commissary for prisoners of war at Buenos Ayres, it was my misfortune to be an early object of plebeian vengeance, after I became one in my turn.

Three mornings after the place was reconquered, a large mob convened before my house, when I was fortunately abroad, which they entered by force, and demolished every thing they could not carry off, even to the paper upon the walls. The life of the owner would have been however a much more pleasing sacrifice to them. On my return they had indeed dispersed, but I had to lament over the loss of my all, except a very small trunk which had been conveyed, upon the preceding night, to the house of Signor Alguazabal, and contained 120 dollars, a few shirts, and some other trifles. Even these remains of my property were traced thither, and plundered by a captain of the Spanish Army, who to the credit of Liniers, was afterwards dismissed from the service with disgrace, on my informing him of the circumstance, and the name of the culprit. I recovered the money too from that chief, upon declaring the fact, and its amount upon honour, but it was not so well with regard to my wearing apparel, my papers, books, and many native productions which I had collected while we held the city. An officer of the 71st having stated to me his having seen several volumes marked by my name, amongst other articles, in a warehouse within the fort, I instantly went into it, where I picked up four, and carried them into Liniers' apartment, who was then in conversation with those French officers, whom I remarked to have been so active upon the day of its surrender. Producing the books and my identity, I repre-

sented them as only a portion of my property that had been lost, and that the bulk of it was then under the lock and key of the Spanish commissary, which I demanded to be restored to me in terms of our capitulation. Liniers seemed well inclined to listen and to accede, but he yielded to the persuasions of his countrymen, who assured him that such things were common in towns just captured, and to dismiss the request. He certainly offered to me the books, but they were thrown indignantly on the floor, with the reply of "All or none."

It is to me a bitter reflection, that in this calamity, there was involved the loss of what can never be repaired. Three weeks before the recapture of the city, a Spanish officer had spared me three duodecimo volumes, published at Lima in the year 1654. They contained an historical series of the dynasty of the Incas over the empire of Peru, and comprehended a period including the 12th and 16th centuries, until that sovereignty was voluntarily resigned for ever by the last of its kings, into the hands of Philip II, since which it has been an appendage of the Spanish Crown. Of such importance did my friend consider the work to be, and the danger to which he exposed himself by the transference, that he impressed upon me an everlasting secrecy by the strongest pledge, and every trace of his name he himself obliterated.

Whenever I went into the streets, I was commonly followed by several attendants

with drawn knives, who appeared with scowling eyes to watch for a favourable opportunity of using them, but guarding one side by the wall, and the other with a sword under my arm, the villains were kept in awe. An incident yet more serious occurred upon Saturday the 30th of August, which confirmed me in the propriety of publishing, through the medium of my landlord, a true statement of those circumstances, that had fostered so general a prejudice against me, and to screen me from such a train of marked persecution.

From a sense of delicacy toward the hospitable families of Buenos Ayres, it was often customary for the English officers to dine at the Three Kings altogether, when not otherwise engaged. On the day stated, more than the usual number convened, and after all had risen from the table, it was proposed to pass the evening there in commemoration of Saturday night. All who were present acceded to it, but in a little after, an intervening thought struck me, urging the propriety of going to my quarters. The sudden change in my intention, I have cause to declare, could have been dictated alone by a guardian Providence. Having signified my desire to go home to Lieutenant Murray of the 71st regiment, he accompanied me so far on the way to his own, but I had scarcely reached mine, when an immense rabble collected about the inn, calling out for the delivery of the commissary for prisoners to them. All in the room of course fled whither they best could, and many of

them most imprudently took refuge amongst the poultry, where their terrors became augmented by the loud clamours of those natural tenants of the roost. An unguarded answer was given to the mob, that the commissary had gone to his quarters, but that his servant was in the kitchen at supper. Some miscreants instantly seized the unhappy substitute, dragged him forth into the street, where they murdered the unoffending boy with every description of weapons. Not satiated, they set out in a body to the gateway of my residence, which belonged to one of the members of the Cabildo. While we were walking about the room in conversation, he suddenly opened the door of one adjoining to it, and without saying a word, thrust me in. My protector then went out, addressed the banditti, and assured them that I was absent. How ever little respect they paid to the law, they on this occasion rendered a deference to its magistrate, by taking their departure, but in two hours, when all were asleep, they returned, setting up the most dreadful shouts.

The stancheons of my bed-room window, which looked into the street, and the side walls had been much shattered by shot, during our defence, and any one might have gained access into the chamber, but none had the presumption to attempt it. The noise awakened my landlord who came silently to arouse me, and having conveyed me through a long passage into a warehouse full of hides and tallow, he locked the door and sallied out to the people.

They all insisted upon entering the house to search it closely, which my host with great address, seemed readily to permit, but it was accompanied with expressions of displeasure at their doubts of his veracity ; still assuring them that their victim was somewhere else in the city. The coolness of my friend, and his habitual character, stamped such an impression upon his words, that they all resigned the sanguinary chase. No measures were adopted by the military or the police to disperse this assemblage, who ruled uncontrolled by any authority throughout the night, and from so recent a specimen of such unbridled a fury in the populace of the capital, it obviously imposes this inference, that much remains to be done after the attainment of independence, in the regeneration of its laws, in inspiring its public functionaries with spirit to enforce them, in annihilating the inferior classes of its clergy, who studiously direct the ignorant to a wrong bias, and in cherishing by its institutes, the works of genius, and of industry. But many allowances must be made for a set of men flushed by success, pushed on by a momentary impulse, unawed by the dread of punishment, devoid of good order, and stimulated by the priesthood, when we only cast an eye to those licentious scenes that too often occur at home. It is incumbent, in having enlarged upon those details, to offer also a review of their cause. The infuriated prejudice was engendered from a suspicion that I had been the means of withholding from the

Spanish soldiery the rations that are commonly issued to prisoners of war. In the present case, and during our dominion over Buenos Ayres, the military were enjoined to present themselves to me for muster, four days in the week, when their numbers were as regularly reported to General Beresford. This was with the main object of preventing them from passing into the interior, there to join the armies collecting at the time. Excepting upon these particular periods, the privates were allowed to follow their proper callings under the denomination of prisoners at large. Complaints ensued, that most could not obtain employ, and that their families were necessitous. This was likewise officially represented, and a plan of remedy was in a train of completion, which was to have acted with a retrospective effect, by making up for past deficiencies, and by adopting the usages of the Spanish Government in like cases towards our countrymen, as models for future issues, when we in our turn became prisoners. But this was never realized owing to that event, and all the consequences of its omission fell individually on me. My landlord seeing the expediency of giving some publicity to this statement, kindly undertook the task, and I must do justice to the community, that after it was propagated, and during the remainder of my stay in Buenos Ayres, those very men who had so eagerly sought my life, were the foremost in atoning for their errors by a marked civility. I doubt not too, that the report of these prisoners who had been

closely confined within the castle while we held the place, and who had experienced the most humane treatment while there, very much conduced to change the popular sentiment.

After we were prisoners, many of the families in the city shewed a particular desire to have English soldiers for their domestics, far more from the liberal wish to alleviate their captivity, than to benefit from their services. In these capacities our subordinates too shared in their kindness, and an evident partiality existed on the part of the females, to English officers, over that shewn to that class of their friends. The only bar to the closest connexion, was the difference in their creed, which only sacrificed, the ladies would have viewed the military rank of their admirers as a minor consideration. One of them was married to a cadet in the St. Helena corps, who was a voluntary convert, and who soon after received a captain's commission in the Buenos Ayres army. Much priestly eloquence was exerted in this holy struggle.

Such was the female passion for music, that the master of the band of the 71st regiment, was invited to become teacher, many pupils pressed upon him, and being an excellent composer, his little productions were keenly bought up. They used their utmost to retain him after we were sent into the country without effect, but he amassed money sufficient to ensure him comforts while he was a prisoner in that continent.

A much greater confidence appeared while under their power, than when we were masters

of the city, in our mutual conferences. There were some Creolian officers, who had gone to Spain for their education in their former days, and who had been induced to accept of commissions in her army on the war breaking out with France. They had served under General De L'Union, and most of them had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the course of it. Their opinions and principles were strongly tinged with republicanism, and their dress as well as their manners were closely assimilated to those of their recent associates. In their eyes no power was equal to that of France, no captain like Buonaparte. The greatness of the Parent State, which had before been supreme above every other, was now beheld as nothing amongst the nations, and it needed little penetration to see, that much pains had been employed in giving a new construction to their political catechism. Some of them divulged thoughts, which they dared not to have avowed to their dearest friends, but which are now doubtless realized by actions, in the great cause of their country's independence. There were likewise two civilians, who had visited England, and who spoke with a freedom upon the degraded situation of their own land, which they could have imbibed nowhere else. I was intimate with one of them, the tenor of whose conversation was chiefly a series of contrast betwixt the two, drawn from every little incident that presented itself to his ideas. He observed, however, great caution in all his communications as to time

and place, and impressed on me secrecy as a duty due to him.

A few days only had elapsed from the surrender of the place, when a military enthusiasm broke forth in every rank of society. All the youths of the most respectable families hastened to enrol their names, and to submit to the laws of discipline. Recruiting parties daily paraded through the streets, beating up for volunteers, and amongst other levies, a regiment was raised, upon which they conferred the numerical title of the 71st, which they clothed in red uniforms, and chiefly armed with the wrecks of musquets taken from that distinguished British corps; to whose prowess this formation was intended as a compliment. This was the first martial stock of Buenos Ayres, upon whence have been engrafted these armies that have not only driven every enemy from her borders, but that have established the independence of their own country, and after it, have nobly achieved the freedom of their less powerful sister-kingdom of Chili.

To describe the thralldom in which the intellects, as well as the commerce of that dependency were held by the Parent State, and to evince the little estimation in which our island was considered by those natives; a doctrine most studiously inculcated upon them by their rulers, as well as by the emissaries of France, it was generally imagined that England would be compelled to sue for peace in consequence of our recent disaster, and the loss of

so many of her troops. On the mention of this sagacious remark, one of our officers pulled from his pocket an old army list, all the details of which he explained to the observer, whose surprize I believe, at first exceeded his credibility, but it led to reflection, and ultimately to a belief of the greatness of our nation. On another occasion, a map of London was shewn to a captain of their troops, for in speaking of Londres, the most of them comprehended Great Britain, who after a tedious search, expressed much wonder, that neither Scotland or Ireland, of which he had heard something, could be found in it. On his being told that it contained only one city in our kingdom, he pronounced a long string of ejaculations, and handed the marvellous discovery to several of his brethren. The limits of science amongst that profession did not reach beyond reading and writing, and only few of them understood at all the principles of arithmetic. But it was no fault of theirs, it arose from the jealous parsimony of their governors, who discouraged, instead of cherishing private seminaries, from the sole view of stifling knowledge. The Creoles seemed to possess very quick apprehensions, and the most earnest inquisitiveness in matters of novelty; faculties in man that undoubtedly acquire an additional vigour from suppression.

As to the restraints upon the press, a strong instance has been adduced in that of the colonel of militia, already mentioned, concerning whose final destinies, after some

inquiries, I could learn nothing, except that his valuable impressions had suffered the same fate, with their composer and his types. The deceptions practised in the official communications of European events, were strikingly perceived in the one respecting the battle of Trafalgar, which I saw. It stated the loss of twelve of our largest ships, one of which was named the Duke of York, as having been sunk, while it admitted but eleven casualties to the combined fleets. I noticed the falsehoods to a Biscayan, who only smiled significantly, and shook his head, but they had obtained implicit belief amongst the lower orders, and to have contradicted them amongst that branch, would have been attended with much danger. It was in our power however, to develop these and many other truths by degrees, which must have produced a secret contempt of their government.

There were above six hundred shopkeepers in Buenos Ayres, who sell every article like our own. Their goods were chiefly of the coarsest kind, the intercourse with Europe having been long suspended upon any scale, and their fabric supplies having been chiefly supplied from the coarse manufactures of Peru, or the cottons from Brazils. Three shirts of a very inferior sort, cost me twenty-four dollars, and the yard measure by which they sold, was as five to four of English. The materials for hats are rich and abundant, but they will not stand rain or sun. The chief merchants had travellers like our own, through

the country. Silversmiths are numerous, who understand the processes of alloy, and a native will buy thirty per cent cheaper from them than a stranger can. It is advisable then to employ a friend in such offices. There was one gunsmith in the city, but it must now be a profitable business. There was no copper in circulation, but there was a representative of it, which accommodated the transactions of all retailers, in the Quartillo, having the impression of a plume, about the size of a London twopenny-piece, but somewhat under that value in Buenos Ayres. It was hit off originally as an encouragement, and a premium upon the introduction of dollars from the upper country; one of them having been given over and above the change that is allowed in the interior upon each. A considerable, and an advantageous traffic used to exist betwixt the Brazils and Buenos Ayres, in money. At Rio Janeiro the doubloon was valued at $13\frac{1}{2}$ which if brought to the latter city, produced $16\frac{1}{4}$ of dollars. Their exportation in any number was deemed illicit, but the profits were tempting, and they were often shipped under pretext of their being employed in a trade of barter.

The occupations of shoemakers, and taylor, the latter chiefly females, are the most numerous and best employed. Here the honourable appellation of merchant is sadly perverted, as it implies, without distinction, the first commercialist, and the meanest retailer. Upon an individual reference to the

former, however, he will not fail to mark the difference, but the principal houses are mostly carried on by native Spaniards, whose professional ideas are far superior to the Creoles, while their transactions, I was told, fall as much short in candour and liberality. The former use much art in packing of their sheep's wools, the inferior sorts being often done in the same manner as the best. They are brought from Chili, and flax of the first quality was sent from Peru, for use and exportation.

The wheat of the country was monopolized by forestallers, who sold it to the bakers. It is measured by fanegas, less considerably than the English quarter, and was transported in hides strongly bound. The farmers are very poor, being at the mercy of those monopolists, who absorb the chief profits, and who have no police to control their actions. Bread was very dear, and latterly scarcely to be bought.

While we were there, many religious processions took place, to all of which our guards regularly turned out, but several officers who obstinately refused to bend the knee to them, suffered many insults. There can be no apology for any man who shews a contempt for even human customs, but far less to the rites of any religion, however widely they may differ from his own. Nothing tends more to injure the Englishman's character when abroad, than the habitual exercise of his native freedom wherever he goes. As it is not an error of the heart, it may be corrected by admonition, and were we to view general civility as

near of kin to benevolence, and so a moral duty, we would cease to assume any manners, that could offend either the common, or the serious feelings of those who are innocent strangers to us.

The vast excess of the female, beyond the male population of Buenos Ayres, was conspicuous while we were masters of it, and it was equally remarkable, that this observation became inverted after a short progress into the country. This may be accounted for, at that time, by the many secret emigrations from it, to recruit their armies, which had hitherto been composed of Indian subjects, or others nearly allied to them by colour and habits. The whole military establishments of Spain in those remote regions, had been permitted to dwindle into a rabble, owing to the want of reinforcements from home, and the only troops I saw at all worthy of the name, did not exceed one hundred and thirty, upon whom was stamped the title of veteranos. Such an erroneous policy was likely to invite revolution whenever a leader might start up, and as every soldier on foot, for the purpose of common defence, was a native of the soil, it must have been evident that those defenders would be the foremost to enlist under its banners. This is the radical explanation of those facilities by which Buenos Ayres has risen into an independent state, in comparison with those checkered and sanguinary scenes that yet rage in doubtless issue, in the more northern provinces of that continent, which had

always been occupied and awed by regular armies.

As might naturally be expected in so fertile a land, the markets of Buenos Ayres were most abundantly supplied with all sorts of provisions. Very early risers, they were generally cleared before nine in the morning, and those who were later, must have been contented with the refuse. Adjoining to that spacious square, were the butchers, within an inclosed range of stalls, who finished their business at the same hour, after which they were locked up. Beef only was seen, and that a disagreeable colour from want of bleeding. Whatever was not used at their private tables, or by their domestics, was thrown out to the poultry, who prefer it to corn. It was impossible for us to kill either a turkey or a hen, before it underwent starvation to reconcile them to other food, with comfort, because the gravy from those birds partook of the red nature of their meat. A scarcity however in every species and articles, became visible in the end of July, owing to the prohibition of supplies from without, the daily removal of families into the interior, and the languor of the magistracy to enforce them. The change was too notorious not to be perceived, and it foreboded some early, and eventful issue, which was realized in the reconquest of the city.

The houses in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres, in every direction, are mean, but penetrate a little into the country, it is richly adorned with gardens abounding in European fruits and

vegetables, as well as many of the tropical. Olives prosper well, and are sold cheap by the keepers of little coffee-houses, and in the shops of confectioners. A great drawback upon domestic comfort, as well as the petty manufacturing trades, is the want of fuel. The bakers consume the peach-trees, in their business, and a great proportion of the charcoal used, is derived from the banks of the river St. Lucia, near to Maldonado, together with those of the Parana. It was stated that both stately trees, and a rich quarry were near the city, but I saw neither, although the existence of the latter was proved, from the great quantities of stone brought in for architectural purposes.

During nine months in the year, excepting a few occasional hail and thunderstorms, there is not a finer climate on the globe. From the middle of June, until the beginning of October, indeed, the rains are heavy, and the thermometer fluctuates greatly between the day and night. During a great portion of that interval, I have seen early in the mornings, a dense ice upon the water, which disappears at nine, and every one is glad to throw open the waistcoat until four, when the air resumes its keenness. At the Cape of Good Hope, nearly under the same South latitude, our soldiers were sickly, but here, although exposed to very hard duties, and from the cheapness of their messes, they had an excess of pay beyond their real wants, and many might have consequently indulged in liquor, yet our sick list was never swelled beyond common. This is more sur-

prizing, as the remark alludes exclusively to the winter season, when the humidities from the Plata are felt severely even by the natives, and frequently occasion their concomitant disorders. Snow was never remembered to have fallen, but during the stated period, a northern subject will be happy to fly to an extraordinary covering, which I would recommend as a part of equipment for every adventurer to that part of the world. If resident on the spot during the winter, a little bark taken now and then will guard against the effects of the fogs, and gentle cooling medicines rarely resorted to, will keep the blood in a pleasant state of temperature during the summer heats. An attentive, and industrious agriculturist by accommodating his crops to the seasons, which are in this happy clime of a well-regulated nature, might rear and reap three in perfection, and have a prompt sale for all in the capital.

The great pests are rats, which stumble upon passengers in the streets in numbers, and every morning many of their dead are strewed about, killed by men or dogs. Every house swarms with them, and granaries are dreadfully taxed. Indeed the increase of that species seems to have kept pace with the cattle in those regions. Ants are likewise an universal scourge to every description of vegetable growth, and no means have been yet suggested to thin them. There is a bird named the ant-eater, but like the fly-catcher of the Antilles, it is more a pet for amusement at table, than of extensive benefit. The Chin-

chillas partaking of the squirrel's appearance, are great favourites with the ladies, they are light grey, and their hair like silk. The small dogs, without hair except on the head and tail, which are shagged, are often companions of the females. An animal named the rattone was domesticated, which destroyed the rats, and was very much formed like one, but nearly as large as a cat. Its chief retreat was in the jaw holes that let off the water from their kitchens, and it was neither timid or fierce.

A theatre was established at Buenos Ayres, but it was never opened during our stay, and the national amusement of bull-baiting, was exhibited only once at the Retiro, or Plaza del Toros, from which exercise that spot derives its name.

The want of schools has been already Schools noticed, but the native inclination to give them encouragement, was very conspicuous at a former period, marked by the grant of many commercial privileges to the people of Buenos Ayres. In 1778, a more enlightened policy threw open to seven ports of Spain, a free trade with Buenos Ayres, which happy change in their relative intercourse, raised in those South Americans, a desire to cultivate amongst themselves, the sciences best adapted to lead to their own general improvement. Accordingly in 1779, a seminary was constructed and endowed for the studies of geometry, and architecture, with other inferior pursuits, and premiums were established to animate the scholars, but it had degenerated sadly. The

college of St. Carlos, now entitled the Union of the South, was the only public literary monument perceptible in our day. Various other observations upon the manners, dress, and usages of the community at large, will properly fall under those heads of occurrence that are hereafter detailed, and wherever an ostensible difference exists, in any between the inhabitants of the interior, and those of the capital, such will be noticed in their subsequent stages. As to physical powers, the whole population may be comprized under one description; that of an athletic, if required, a manly, and a vigorous race—~~lazy, yet capable of bearing~~ great fatigue, dissipated when the means are within their reach, yet happy under privations, and likely to become active soldiers, and dangerous enemies from discipline, although when I knew them, they were timorous from an unacquaintance with danger, and seemingly formed cowards by nature. A reconciliation of all these paradoxes, will be substantiated by a close review of their social and military history.

Throughout those foreign climates which I have visited during my life, I have often remarked a singular revolution in the dispositions of my countrymen. While the animal portion has become feeble and relaxed, the mental powers have attained a more than usual expansion, and from having known many of the individuals to which the notation alludes, both at home and abroad, the unaccountable change has been closely as-

certained, and the facts have been fully identified.

In England I have always considered my friend very close-fisted; in the Antilles I have seen him regardless of money; here he was pensive, yonder he was the life of his circle; on this side the water his sentiments were confined, upon the other they breathed nought but liberality; in Europe I have remembered him a puritan, and in the other hemisphere I have found him a libertine!

While British feelings undergo such opposite impressions under different atmospheres, the Spanish seems to assume yet greater, but in an inverted order, by a passage to South America. If that emigrant was ever munificent, he is there avaricious; was he formerly cheerful and frank, he is now sullen on the brow, and dark reserve is fixed upon his lips; were his actions at any time generous, alas! they are now debased by despotism; and he who was once a tolerant in the old, has now become an unforgiving bigot in the new world, at the close of his days! Rough as the sketch is, yet I fear that too many of them have sat for the picture.

It is now time to bid Buenos Ayres farewell, but before I take my leave, the pen I hold, indites to you a tribute, ye better orders of Creolians! We uniformly experienced you to be mild, humane, hospitable; and wherever your conversation wanted of interest, it was amply made up by its complacency. As your kindness to us were disinterested, were steady,

and indiscriminate, we may well proclaim you to be benevolent, and as they shone brightest through the dark days of our misfortunes, we may exalt your race amongst the most benign under heaven, as we trust you will ere long be ranked amongst the most enlightened of the nations! Our eyes do follow you throughout all your future destinies, while our hearts will never cease to implore your everlasting prosperity!

CHAPTER IX.

AFTER a long indulgence betwixt hope and fear, it was generally circulated on the morning of the 9th of October, that our doom was inevitably fixed for the Upper Country, and that waggons were about to enter the city to convey us. These reports were confirmed by our landlords in the evening, who now threw off all reserve, and advised us to prepare for a long journey that promised few comforts on the road. The young of both sexes evinced great sympathy on hearing of our departure, which was ordered upon the afternoon of the 11th.

In the same spirit of duplicity that had hitherto actuated the conduct of the public authorities towards us, they now strove to

palliate their dishonour by representing the cruel alternative as essential to preserve us from a disorderly populace, which was at once an acknowledgment of their own magisterial impotence, and at best an avowal of the inefficacy of their laws. The prospect to me was peculiarly unpleasant, as I had been engaged to accompany the family with which I resided, to their home in the country, where a wide scope for remark would have been afforded, and where communications might have been more frankly given, than when under the numerous restraints of the capital.

The only, and the last test of respect within our power which we could shew to the junior branches of our hospitable protectors, was to invite as many of them to dinner as the house could accommodate, to drink a parting glass, and to bid a mutual adieu. We convened as usual at the Three Kings for the occasion, and after having conferred much delight upon our Creolian friends, as well as having given, and received the blessings of those humble, but worthy publicans, the whole cavalcade moved into the Grand Square upon the afternoon of the 11th, where an immense number of the king's horses were saddled, and bridled, and ready for the journey. Notwithstanding the superabundance of food close at hand, yet they were in miserable order, and ill qualified for a distant trip. Waggon's also were allotted to us, in the proportion of one to two officers, to serve as depots for our provender, the wretched remnants of our baggage, and as retreats

through the nights. All of our South American attendants were greatly affected, they tendered to us their services at any future period, and having mounted our sorry cattle we shook hands, galloped off, and soon lost sight of each other. This part of the scene I could discern was little agreeable to the Spaniards. General Beresford with his staff proceeded in a coach at the same hour, and the waggon having set off early in the morning they had gone beyond the resting place that had been appointed for us until the ensuing day. This was at an old college formerly belonging to the jesuits, of a square form, and not unlike to an eastern caravansary, about two leagues from Buenos Ayres, where we arrived at six o'clock, but owing to the forward movement of our carriages, we were without food or accommodation. A few hides were our beds, and our saddles with their sheep skin trappings, answered for our pillows. The little space we had gone, was adorned a great way by gardens fenced with quince and prickly pear bushes, and our direction North-west, upon the road to Luxan.

All were again on horseback by dawn, upon the 12th of October upon the same horses, who had been turned to feed through the night, with two persons to watch them. The troubles of that day were many and grievous, which the perpetual view of a level luxuriant plain covered with cattle, and which herbage, with maize and wheat fields, could not divert or soften. We reached a post-house about ten,

four leagues from Buenos Ayres, where we saw some of our brave fellows under the same destination with ourselves, and where with cutting appetites we regaled upon eggs and bacon. These places are at regular distances from each other, until near the Anterior Andes, on the high road to Potosi, and furnish relays of horses to government messengers, as well as to private travellers, who when within hearing, always sound a horn, by which means there is not a minute delay. It is usual to drive some hundreds every evening into a coral, or inclosure, as a reserve for the following day, which are successively turned out to grass, when they are replaced by others. The animals used in those services were mostly those belonging to the king as royal tythes, and were always distinguished as such by a slit in the left ear. As an instance of the rapidity with which expresses were performed by those establishments, I can adduce one in Lieutenant Colonel Merlos, whom I personally knew at Buenos Ayres, which was stated by himself, and attested by others. A dispatch of high importance to both governments, was made up at Lima, for the former city, which required a quick delivery. That officer volunteered to be the bearer, and although their relative distance is 3000 miles, he discharged his trust in thirty days, and he enjoyed the rank he then held, in recompence for the feat. It must be remembered that a great part of the way lays along the rugged Andes, where mules only are effective, and

their pace slow. It may therefore be deduced that the rate of his speed could not have been less than 200 miles per day in the low country. He was a man about five feet seven inches high, rather corpulent, but of strong make.

We set out from that post-house at 2 P.M. Many of us had never mounted for years, whose anguish it is better to imagine, than to describe. If comfort can ever be derived from the misfortunes of another, it was now liberally dispensed by the mutual sympathy that was exhibited between the tortured rider, and the jaded beast, and at times, I believe, they would have readily agreed to exchange characters and duties. What added to those sufferings were the small wooden stirrups of our saddles, which were of a triangular form, and so narrow as only to admit the toe, and affording no support to the wearied leg. These are always worn by the lower orders, and are of wood. Major Tooley kindly lent me his that were of English make, otherwise I cannot tell what would have been the personal result to me. This day we noticed many owls, who burrow in the earth, and we crossed a caravan of sixty waggons from Mendoza, with wine for Buenos Ayres. That place is the capital of the province of Cuyo, stands at the bottom of the Cordilleras, or mountains, that pass into Chili, is within the jurisdiction of La Plata, and produces a red vintage generally drank in all parts of the country. They always travel in numbers for self-defence, for otherwise the carriages would be assailed by the Pampas

Indians, who inhabit the plains on their way. They are usually drawn by six oxen, two of which bear the shaft of the waggon, the others being yoked to them by traces made from hides, which are the substitutes every where for cordage. The driver guides his team with a long cane, having a spike in the end for the two leaders, another for the centre pair in the middle, while those in the shafts are goaded by a smaller stick when wanted. The waggonners are very expert in using them, and they perform their task with much ease and safety. Those troops proceed with great regularity, they are subdivided at the outset into parties, to each of which is attached a guide, named the Carratera, who goes in advance whenever they approach any ford, or deep ravine, to probe for the best place to cross them. With that express object, the wheels of those machines are very high, and the compact order in which their line of march is maintained, is with a view to form more readily into circles, under any sudden attack. The cattle seemed to reject the rich clover, and to pry for the short grass that here and there too rose in abundance. The wide expanse offered only a few miserable huts, tenanted by the poorest class, whose food consisted in flesh, eggs, milk, and water, without bread or salt. There were occasionally seen little square plantations that had apparently served as shelters to some small cottages within them, but no remains were observed to warrant the conclusion that such had ever existed.

Toward twilight, the looks and attitudes of our scattered rear guard were both ludicrous and pitiable. One was seated like a female, another bent double, exhibiting all the infirmities of age, while a third nearly worn out had dismounted, and laid himself in despair upon the ground. Many visible symptoms there were of tumbling, kicking, falling: Six leagues from Buenos Ayres we crossed the river Conchas (or shells) which falls into the Plata. General Beresford, and those officers who were well mounted reached Luxan about four P.M. others at seven o'clock, in the most woeful appearance from dust and fatigue, and as for myself, it was eleven at night before I arrived, although the village spire was seen, and appeared quite close five hours before. We were all billeted on the inhabitants, and were well treated by every creature in it except the fleas, who shewed a great partiality for English blood, and a total want of feeling for our worn-out bodies.

Next morning we examined this spot which consists in more than 200 houses, not more than three of which are of two stories, and the streets, if they deserve the name, run at right angles, and are very narrow. The buildings are of mud, but the church is neat, having a sort of cupola, and in its exterior resembling our chapels at home. Every one of the natives who passed it, took off his hat, which ceremony I would recommend to every foreigner who desires to be popular and safe. The observance certainly has nothing degra-

ding in it, but on the contrary it yields a self-complacency by doing that which is right, and still more, it is a pleasing sacrifice.

There is likewise a Cabildo, or Town-Hall, which was converted into lodgings for General Beresford, and those officers who remained with him.

The females at Luxan had seemingly no occupation of industry, but they loitered in numbers before each other's houses, basking in the sun, where their sole employ was in mutually picking the vermin from their heads, which are in multitudes, from their own habitual filth, and the length, with the thickness of their black hair. No trade or bustle was visible, although the place is the inlet to the Upper Country, and there were no shops, excepting those that sold spirits and groceries. All the lower orders who have any money, indulge most freely in aguardiente, which is a native spirit and something like to Irish whisky. Like other spots in those parts that are populous, a river of the same name runs close to the village, over which there is a handsome bridge of wood, serviceable only under the winter overflows, as the bed of it in common times, is very shallow. We very soon ascertained that the water supplied many delicious fish, which the peons were too indolent to catch. Its magistrates consisted in a first and second alcaidi. Our waggons having arrived, we generally resolved to make them our sleeping places in future, from an experience of the comfortless accommodations hitherto afforded

us. On the evening of the 13th of October, we accompanied them on horseback, and halted in a boundless space of clover during the night. Fires were quickly lighted by the drivers, some cattle from a small herd that had joined us, were slaughtered, and supper was prepared. Our domestics hovered round the carcasses with vulture's eyes, ready to dart at the first and favourite cuts, which were brought to the spit quivering in every sinew. Our repast that night was composed of some thin slices, that being run through with a small stick, sharpened at both ends, it was fixed into the ground, and occasionally turned upside down, until the meat was roasted, or more properly burnt. The fire was kept alive by large pieces of the fat thrown upon the embers, and now and then a little brushwood, or some weeds. The ease with which food is procured amongst these plains, the dispatch with which they can dress or cure it, and the privations of bread, spirits, and salt, which are unfelt by every South American, qualify him peculiarly for all military operations. He only needs to be inspired with a spirit of well-directed enthusiasm, and a sense of glory, in order to arouse him from his habitual apathy, to become the first soldier in the world. His hardihood on those occasions, surpasses his abstemiousness, for whether it be cold or hot, the itinerant peon reposes soundly under the open canopy of heaven, having the earth as his bed, his poncho as his covering, and his saddle for his pillow. He possesses also a very acute

vigilance through the night. With such physical means, and these so easily supported from the intrinsic resources of the soil, the province of Buenos Ayres cannot fail to conquer her independence, and to maintain it.

Around every hut on our way this day, there were short poles placed, through which strings were passed, and from them were suspended thin pieces of beef to dry in the sun, it being a favourite aliment. We crossed many rivulets this afternoon, and were joined on the morning of the 14th by several of our companions, who preferred to remain at Luxan during the night, to a residence in their waggons, which were most prolific in our old pests, the fleas.

At five on the morning we departed for Capello del Senor upon a road but rarely frequented. The orders issued to the Commandant of the guard were, to deviate from the beaten paths, so as to bewilder, and prevent our observations. Many dogs far more anxious to travel than ourselves, had joined us on the line of march, and yielded great amusement. Some had retained the horses brought from Buenos Ayres, and others having purchased fresh ones, we were all mounted during the day, and when any game started, there was a general pursuit, and though our pack were at first ignorant of the object, still a few runs, and the taste of blood, soon made them eager for the chase. An adventure of this day however, cooled the zeal of some of them, for observing a zorilla, whose vicinity is

always ascertained by a nauseous foetid smell, they followed and seized him. His perfume without any other exertion, soon repelled the assailants, who retreated in apparant agony, a few of them burying their noses in the ground, and others foaming violently at the mouth. Two were missing at the evening's muster which we imagined had died in consequence. That animal is like a very small dog, is marked with dark brown and yellow streaks, and is only hostile from the liquor which it discharges out of a bladder at the root of the tail, at every one who approaches it. Lieutenant Wade of the navy, incautiously rode near to one, who using the common means of defence, it blinded him for several hours, and being near to a river, he plunged headlong to relieve him from the anguish. Notwithstanding its odours, that animal's skin is in much esteem, as edgings to those of the Janguara, and others. After proceeding through a wide, covered with clover, and thousands of wild cattle, we reached the village of Capello del Senor at two in the afternoon of the 14th of October, which is seventy miles from Buenos Ayres, and twenty from Luxan. There stands in it a small chapel dedicated to the virgin, a river abounding with fish passes near to it, but it is too insignificant to have a court-house. Our course with little variation, had been W.N.W. The village was under the administration of an alcaaldi, who possesses within the interior, the comparative powers of our justices, and head constables. It is the name alone, not the

man who is feared in those characters, and as few, if any perquisites, are annexed to the office, his zeal in the support of the laws is but languid. We must cease to wonder at this, when we reflect that those magistrates, from all of them keeping dram-shops, have an interested bias to the criminal, whose earnings from rapine and murder, are generally dissipated in liquour and gambling, which have long been the predominant vices of all the lower orders. That functionary in place of being a terror to, is a stimulator of misdeeds, and in almost every criminal commission he may be traced as an accessory to it, because in him all their dishonest gains centre, and he well knows that they cannot possess money without industry, nor can such sources be derived from any other method but violence. He will therefore be inclined to hide the culprit, instead of dragging him forth to punishment, and this is perpetuated with impunity through the duration of his natural life, for he is never called to any account. Such a fellow-feeling, so well understood by both parties, has tended nearly as much as the bigotries of the church, to prolong and to contaminate the morals of the vulgar, in that quarter of South America. All those little villages are infested by gangs of ladrones, or robbers, who are ever on the prowl for prey, and will unreluctantly take a life for a neckcloth. Such men are not subject to any remorse when they are intuitively taught, that a dollar saved at the end of every year, will obtain the absolution of their sins, however

heinous, for the past. There was a priest here, with whom some of our party conversed, but I understood that his intellects were as weak, as his sentiments were illiberal. None of us being allowed to enter the church several slept under the shelter of its porch. The river mentioned, rises but a few miles above this hamlet, and empties into the Parana, near to where the Conchas falls also.

At mid-day of the 15th of October, we departed, having left fourteen of our companions at the place, agreeably to the orders of the Spanish Government. Our direction was North-west, and the surface became somewhat varied by its inequalities. Vast crowds of green plover making a great noise, flew around us, and large bodies of wild dogs, who live and breed in holes, were visible, in quest of water and food. Lieutenant Balingall, by the power of imitating, decoyed two pups from their recess, which were afterwards domesticated with great difficulty. They were long very shy, but proved in the end very faithful house-dogs. Their hair is harder and thicker than the tame sort. They subsist upon their fellows of the plain, and tend much to diminish the general stock of cattle. I often noticed their preference to the calves, which they attack in bodies of about twenty—guarded by the mother, the battle is sometimes furious and long-contested, but in almost all of them, natural affection is compelled to yield to a sense of self-preservation. Happily for the human race, they are cowardly by nature, for

a shrill whistle will put thousands to flight, although above the ordinary size of the canine species. The manner in which they are hunted, with a view to thin them, will be noticed hereafter.

Indeed the natural ferocity that appertains to animals in other countries is evidently impaired in the beasts that so freely range in those favoured regions. Amongst all the numerous herds I saw, one solitary bull was alone observed, who threatened hostility, which was roused, as it was diverted by a female near to me, that running off in another quarter, was as quickly followed by her angry paramour. We rested this night close to a small hut, seated upon a marshy plain, where there were numbers of sheep, with four and five horns, some of which we bought for ten-pence each. The natives never eat them, but often use their bones for culinary purposes, the burning of bricks, and their skins for their saddle appendages.

At daylight of the 16th, we renewed our labours, and after crossing an arm of the river passing close to it, we reached the village of St. Antonio de Areca. A dry season, the greatest scourge that can befall those parts, had occurred this year, and those rivulets to which the cattle had been accustomed to resort, had been totally absorbed by it. Their carcasses were strewn so thickly on our bye-road, that the air was impregnated to a great distance, and to such a degree that neither the wild dogs, nor the birds perched upon them in flocks,

could correct it. Most of them had been skinned by the itinerant peons.

While we were invited to reverence that beneficent Being who has thus clad those fields with plenty, we could not but lament over the abuse of such blessings. Computed by the eye, we may fairly reckon ten thousand heads to be the fortune allotted by providence to every human tenant upon them, from his birth. Unconscious of his own wealth, he slumbers through his days, and abandons them to the sports of nature, only gleaning from them at will, from day to day, a chance victim to satiate his epicurism, rejecting with disdain those better portions, that would feed millions of his fellow-creatures. Viewing the world as one grand theatre, and mankind as one common family, the philanthropist must rejoice in the early prospect of those fertile wastes being converted to the universal good, and of their rude possessors being soon added to the great stock of civilization. The prevalent soil thus far, is a soft black loam, except near to the streams where the exterior denotes a clayish marle. It is well adapted for any crops, and vegetables of all descriptions would grow to an immense size.

The village of St Antonio de Areca stands most beautifully upon a rising ground, in the midst of square inclosures of fruit-trees, composed of peach, fig, walnut, pear, and some other kinds. The river that passes it rises a few miles to the South, and discharges into the Parana, near the Conchas. There is a

neat church built of brick, with a spire, having a regular curate and an assistant.

After great trouble, another officer and myself, procured a small hut at the rent of three dollars per month, behind the house of an inhabitant. Our abode had been entirely devoted to a flour granary, and our contract was that it should continue so, but for form's sake that it should be entitled our house. We however were contented with our lot, for minds happy within, cannot be shaken either by trifles or misfortunes. This village became our resting-place nearly three months, and yielded the pastimes of fishing, cricket, hunting and riding. Our dress, like our furniture, was often the cause of merriment within doors, both being alike threadbare and plain, but neither in plenty, and for the sake of economy and comfort, three others joined in a dinner mess, which altogether formed an agreeable society. Our landlord was a sensible shrewd man in the affairs of the world, but a natural proneness to corpulency, a never-failing appetite, and a sedentary indulgence, had swelled him out beyond the common size of our species; but although he was thus unwieldy in his body, his wit was lively, and his disposition a compound of humour and good nature. As animal contrasts are always pleasant when they appear together at the same time, I am therefore induced to usher in my companion. He was tall, thin, meagre, and his corporation was never designed from the cradle, to attain the true English bulk—although like his

neighbours, he could take his share of good things ; he was very fond of exercise, very inquisitive for information, and possessed a mind well cultivated by reading. Between two mortal frames so opposite, there existed however a cordial liking, which was evinced the most when they pelted at each other's singularities. Notwithstanding he was thus fenced by nature against the sanguinary prowling flea, yet my friend spent many sleepless nights from their attacks, on the floor, and though being senior in years, I was exalted upon a bed, yet I was equally exposed to them, as well as to the rats, that swarmed in numbers. The assurance of a dollar per day from the Spanish Government, cheered every forethought, and had it been regularly paid, we should have felt easy in our circumstances.

Amongst other improvements introduced by the jesuits, the burning of bricks is one that has contributed much to the appearance of the interior villages. Here they are unburnt, but the houses are all whitewashed. That process is performed by horses, being by similar means to those used in threshing out their corn. They are driven into an inclosed circle, which contains the clay, and are kept in a constant gallop until it is ready for the fire ; men being employed from without in throwing water where required. The bricks are fired by the heads of oxen, or the bones of sheep, whose carcasses are often laid on to keep up the heat. The sun will in a short time perform the same task as the brush upon their

habitations, and it is frequently left to his good offices.

The arrangements formed upon the 17th of October, were, that thirty officers with their servants should remain at Antonio, and that the rest should be dispersed amongst the contiguous estancias. Our soldiers had been cautiously pushed far in advance from us, all communication with them was cut off, and having hitherto been the dupes, anticipation rendered it probable, that we might soon become sacrifices to the unsteady councils of the ruling authorities. Under this impression, my companion and myself, notified to the commandant of the guard, that we had withdrawn our parole, and that he might accordingly treat us as he saw fit. Nothing followed this frank announcement ; a restraint that was imposed upon that officer by temporary policy, and a little too by his natural indolence.

In describing the diary of a day, the whole may be comprehended, except when we visited our neighbouring fellow-captives. To compensate the lack of events, two weekly papers were established, open to all, but differing in their sentiments, that amused for a while, but they soon degenerated into channels of satire, and were abandoned. A better amusement was suggested in the revival of Saturday night, when the whole of our society collected under a friendly tree that stood in the fields. Each member brought his stool, his bottle, and his jug, and in the centre of the groupe, a fire was kindled, around which, every one in his turn,

was obliged to sing a song, or tell a story. Many of the country people, who are called peons, stood by, and partook of the hilarity. It was to them a strange sight, for I scarcely ever saw a native who enjoyed a flow of spirits beyond common, and except in disputation, have rarely heard their voices raised above the ordinary tone. When differing in opinion, they speak fast and loud, with which their gestures correspond; features of character which they inherit from their European progenitors. A neutral person who is unacquainted with them, would conclude from both these symptoms, that their quarrels could not possibly terminate without bloodshed, but unless they arise from losses at gambling, they are always lulled into peace. On these occasions they fight with long knives, which they always carry, and many casualties occur.

The village of St. Antonio is admirably placed for any manufactory that requires a regular supply of water, but no business is carried on by the population, who amount to six hundred, except the knitting of stockings, which belongs to the females. The males seemed to have had no pursuit, and no visible means of existence but from rapine, and the lasso. The liquor shops are many, and thither the multitude repair upon Sundays, to carouse after worship, and then to play, until one or another loses his all, even to the tatters upon his back.

Our arrival however gave a stimulus to their economy and industry. That excess of milk

which had before been given to the pigs, and sometimes thrown away, was now converted into cash, and butter, that had been rarely made, was sold at three shillings per pound, while the cow herself might have been bought for a dollar. A colonel of militia was stationed here, who also imbibed the general spirit, for having two slaves, and some adjoining copses which he chose to call his own, he collected by their labour all the wood he could gather, and personally superintended the sale of it. It was a farce to observe him quibbling with our domestics about a few sticks, and in the same way when trafficking for his pears and peaches. Foreseeing that we should soon commence to be our own providers, he exerted his local powers to prevent us from invading those spots, but as he exhibited no title deeds, our servants set his authority at nought, for the crops had been previously used in common. Any produce that demanded culture was rejected, and to find cabbages, turnips, or potatoes, we were obliged to visit the estancias, or farm-houses in the country, where they might spare us a few as we were strangers, but they never would sell them. We could not ride any distance without a blandengo soldier as a guard, unless we went out in bodies. The peons paid the most submissive respect to military supremacy, while they held the laws in contempt, for the garb of a soldier was a sufficient passport, and any one in those days with such a companion, might have travelled every where with security.

In an excursion which I made fifteen miles from St. Antonio, I had occasion to remark a few of the agricultural usages of these parts, at the farms of Don Marcos, and Don Phillippi Zavaleta, two brothers, who lived three miles apart from each other, near to the Parana. The former managed his own estate, which extended fourteen miles in length, with three in breadth. A very respectable house was on the property, an orchard of thirty-five acres with many hundreds of peach, fig, apple, and pear trees, besides an excellent kitchen garden, were bought with the estate for seven thousand dollars, and with them were transferred to him, the unnumbered herds throughout those boundaries. Annexed to the whole, was a privilege to take the fish and turtle that abounded in the river, floating past his fields. The spot was elevated and picturesque from the wood around it, and more especially so when in a district where trees are seldom seen, but contiguous to the little hamlets. That gentleman possessed above 60,000 heads of cattle, comprized under the various classes of horses, beevés, mares, asses, and mules; the latter of which were high-priced, from the great demands for them in Peru. Indeed few could ascertain the exact amount of them. Don Marcos stated his recent losses from the drought, at 10,000, and of calves, lambs, and young colts at 2000, being his annual estimate, from the rapacity of the wild dogs. He constantly employed eighty negroes to watch that species of his property, who mounted and

tired every successive day, two horses upon that duty, they being turned wide and not rode again perhaps for a week. Such was the indolence of those fellows, who are domestically engaged, that I noticed the cook using an animal to bring meat for dinner, from a distance of only sixty yards, and have often remarked one yoked to draw water, from a depth of ten. No creature ever walked about, such is the tyranny of habit.

The threshing of some corn took place one day, which had been brought in from the field. A fenced circular inclosure was formed, in the centre of which, some negroes placed layers of grain. A number of stallions, and mares were turned in, who were kept at full gallop until that on the ground was beaten out, when more straw was thrown on, and the same process was renewed till the whole was finished, after which, the crop remained on the spot, waiting a gust of wind. When this happened, the slaves assembled, who threw the stuff in the air, and when properly dressed, it continued stationary till wanted. This method causes the bread generally consumed, to be very gritty. Every family grinds its own flour in small hand-mills, and loaves are only sold by the dram-shops in villages, for the cottagers seldom taste them. The mares in the country are never saddled, or disposed of, but are kept for breeding, and those farming purposes. The harvest begins in January, and ends in February. Don Marcos Zavaletta preserved a diary of his proceedings in every

branch. As his experience was derived from a practice of years, and his judgment in all other matters was very solid, I am therefore induced to appreciate his opinions, and to adopt him as a proper standard and authority, for the highest state of agriculture in that quarter of the world. He fixed his average returns at fifty-six, and particularized one spot of land that had been deluged some weeks by the river, as having yielded eighty-nine. The only plough I observed in that country, for none of his were at work, was a wooden one, with a single pole, which the labourer held in his hand to direct the operation, and its share was of the same material. The soil however is so pliant, and the furrows were so shallow, that it performed very well, and it was only the listlessness of the hind that displeased me. After the ground was sown, a bunch of thick-set hedges was drawn five times over it, when the issue was committed to providence. The estate produced many musk melons, which in various instances attained a circumference of twenty-two inches, and eighteen in length. The mules which were reared by Don Marcos were designed for the carriage, as well as for the annual fairs of Salta, where all the necessities of Peru are supplied. The former when broke, fetched one hundred and twenty dollars, while an excellent horse might have been bought for three. He daily killed six bullocks for his slaves, and twice as many during the harvest, besides one for his pigs and poultry. Every where that was marked

as having been a spot of sacrifice, there were scattered the heads, hearts, backbones, and necks of animals, which those dusky epicures had left behind them as useless.

Along his plains, Don Marcos had erected corals, into which he collected all the herds upon his borders, and after each beast was marked by an instrument of his own choice, with red paint, it was again let loose. The impression ever after served to identify the brute as his individual property, although the peons are no way scrupulous in selecting any one most convenient to themselves. The like practice was used with the horses, only that a slit in the left ear, denoted that he belonged to the king as his tribute.

One day after dinner, while smoking in a portico attached to the house, Don Marcos suddenly arose, and repeatedly crossed himself. This was occasioned by the approach of myriads of locusts that appeared in the South. A similar plague, he said, had ravaged the land seven years before, in the destruction of their cornfields, and his fears as to the future for the present one, were subsequently realized. Those who did not employ their servants in guarding them from those destructive invaders through the day, sustained nearly a total loss of their crops. As I was a witness of their first coming, so was I of their dissolution. After they had cut up every unprotected vegetable, they became enfeebled, and resorted in thousands to the banks of the river, where they were either drowned, or fell a prey to the

fishes. Our diversion was sensibly injured by that plentiful supply of preferable food.

Cruelty to brutes seems a striking characteristic of the lower orders, and the very methods used in slaughtering them, tend much to render it an habitual stain. At every country house, bands of dogs are kept, to consume the carrion, to intimidate the wandering ladrones, as well as to repel the midnight assaults of their less civilized brethren, who visit the estancias in their roam, but their hostilities are always confined to bullying and barking. So prolific are they in this state of nature, that if they were not occasionally destroyed, they would overrun the land. To check their increase, which could not be effected by the tamer branches of the species, parties are formed twice a year from the adjacent country, all of whom are mounted and armed with their cuchillos, or knives. After compelling the dogs to brush from their holes by fumigation, they close them and pursue the refugees, butchering them in numbers. It is a stigma that on those occasions one unhappy victim is flayed alive, and so set free, which is imagined by those executioners, to make an impression upon the rest.

The officers who resided with these brothers spoke highly of them, both as sensible and humane men, who spurning every recompense, were lavish of their kindnesses, and who by breaking asunder the iron chains of captivity, bound them fast by the silken chords of friendship. Their opinions were liberal on every

topic, and their religious sentiments were given frankly, and in the spirit of toleration. As a test of the worthy Don Marcos, one anecdote will fully bespeak his character. In January 1807, an order arrived for the removal of his inmates to the Upper Country. On being informed of it, he instantly dispatched a servant to Buenos Ayres, a distance of seventy-two miles, with a letter to General Liniers, praying a revocation of the mandate. The domestic participating in the generous feelings of his master, set out at half-past five in the morning, reached the city at three in the afternoon, and returned with a reprieve a little past midnight. Soon afterwards, however, an interdict was issued by the government, against the officers at both houses communicating with one another, or even going abroad, but it was evaded by an agreement between them, to meet half-way upon stated days of the week, when they enjoyed a mutual society.

Several changes took place intermediately before our departure, and a few officers were quartered at the village of Rincon, on the banks of the Parana, where that river is not above half a mile in breadth, over which, the tigers from the opposite side, frequently swim in search of food. That great water which may be translated the sea, rises in the Brazilian mountains, in latitude 15° 21' S. and rushing with a deviating course, meets the Paraguay near to Corrientes, a small town four hundred and eighty miles North-west from Buenos Ayres, which stands upon the

spot of their confluence. Here the latter becomes extinct, and assumes the name of the Parana, which in its farther passage towards the South-east, receives the Uruguay a little above the capital, when all are united to form, together with their tributary streams, the Rio de la Plata, that finally discharges into the sea. Like that grand estuary, the Parana must have been choaked up in its navigation by the winds and soil, for it is well authenticated, that on its first discovery, vessels of some burden ascended to the town of Corrientes. At present, the only traffic which exists, is no higher than St. Fé, two hundred and forty miles above Buenos Ayres, and that is carried on by small craft for goods, and boats called balsas, for passengers, that always row, and never sail. The latter penetrate considerably higher, and are hauled into creeks during the nights, where the people must light fires, as a protection against the wild beasts that infest its banks.

Upon my return to St. Antonio from a few days excursion, we were shocked at hearing of an unprovoked murder, committed at Capello del Senor, upon a soldier of the 71st regiment, in the face of day. While standing at the door of his billet, on a Saturday afternoon, unsuspecting of danger, he was suddenly lassoed round the shoulders, by one of those vagrant horsemen who are always in motion, and who putting spurs to his horse, galloped off with his prey to the end of the village, where after having extinguished life in the

most brutal manner, he stripped the body. At the same time there occurred another instance of savage depravity, which there was cause to infer had been urged on by some one in a much higher sphere of life, than that of the despicable agent who perpetrated it. Amongst others left behind with General Beresford at Luxan, were Colonel Pack and Captain Ogilvie of the Royal Artillery. The latter was supposed to have made some professional remarks upon Buenos Ayres, and he was therefore an object of public jealousy, while the life of the former was much prized by them, on account of the talents and valour that had distinguished it. One forenoon a peon arrived in much apparent haste, and in an expressive, but guarded address, enquired for those two officers, adding confidentially, that he was charged with letters for both, of much importance, which he could deliver only in secret and to themselves. He suggested that they would walk out on the Buenos Ayres road, where they would be unobserved by any one. Curiosity, and the sudden proposal, unguarded them both, and they sallied out with the villain, who sometimes preceded, and at others followed them. They twice pressed the fellow to explain, but he artfully deferred it, until they should reach a more unfrequented part. He contrived to get behind them, when he pulled out a brace of pistols, with one of which he wounded Captain Ogilvie mortally in the back, and with the other, aimed at Colonel Pack, but it happily missed fire. Foiled in

this, he resorted to his lasso, with which he caught the colonel above the wrist, when with a presence of mind that saved his life, he closed with the assassin, who did not expect to be so anticipated, at the same moment disengaging the rope, when he struck him in the face with a small cane, which was the only defence they had carried with them. Some slaves from work appeared in sight, when the fellow being alarmed, was soon out of view. Captain Ogilvie languished above a fortnight in great pain, when he expired, a heavy loss to his country, and carrying with him the esteem of all who knew him. As pistols were not the favourite arms of those people, but were on the contrary objects of dread to them, it was conclusive, that he must have been the delegate of another, who had supplied him with those means, and instructed him in the use of them. The civil power affected to feel concern on this event, but it exerted only a shew of bustle, in discovering the culprit, as no pecuniary recompense was held out, which is the only motive that could have operated in bringing him forth to justice.

After some stay at St. Antonio, our funds ran low, and the Spanish Government taking no measures to fulfil their promised stipulations to us, several of us were critically placed. As we were not sufficiently established to gain credit prospectively upon that public guarantee, which every shopkeeper distrusted fully more than ourselves, and as our wants could alone be supplied by ready money, some

of us were compelled to dispose of our wretched remnants to feed nature. Appeals for remedy only produced fair promises to be, again broken; a substitute that was often current for cash in those dominions. While we thus found the servants of the Crown temporizing and deceitful, our landlords, and the community at large had some pity on our sufferings. Grim prejudice was obvious upon our first arrival amongst them, but it gave way to the workings of conviction, and a general attachment to us. Our unwieldy host with a feeling of self-interest, united also a degree of benevolence. He alleviated our situation as much as he could, and we derived entertainment from his conversation, which always evinced a superior knowledge of local manners, as well as of a natural understanding far above the common. His hour of siesta always occurred during our dinner, after which he joined our society without ceremony, purely with an inquisitorial motive, and not to share in any of our festivities. Possessed of such intellectual powers upon all secular topics, I cannot introduce a more apt example, to shew what must have been the degraded state of religious attainments in that part of the world, than Don Gourdo our landlord. One day he asked us if there was not a nation called the Jews, and if so, did they eat, sleep, and drink like other men? Having explained to him their unhappy condition in the world, we referred him to the Bible for their history, but he shrugged his shoulders, and with a sigh

replied that he had none. He said that there was a very large book in the priest's house, which he believed might be one, but that it was written in a language he could not understand, and was never used except on Sundays. These were the benighted sentiments of a man wise in temporal affairs, upon spiritual record, and he may be quoted as a standard by which we may conclusively judge of the small advances made by the gospel in those regions. There were no schools in those villages to train or to instruct the infant mind, not a trace to be seen of the footsteps of those pious jesuits, who had so recently traversed that continent communicating and doing good, not one of those zealous missionaries who had for ever relinquished their own land, to propogate the truths of christianity amongst the isles of the Pacific, could be heard of, nor could a tattered page of that sacred volume be discovered, as a memorial of its having ever been consulted in former times. Who can be astonished then at those specimens of immorality which incidents and truth have obtruded upon my narrative? Who must not view with an eye of compassion, the errors of a race "who know not what they do," amongst whom a superstitious ignorance is studiously cherished, where the shedding of a stranger's blood, who differs in creed from themselves, is held up as a virtue and not as a crime, and where human laws are afraid to punish, and the divine are cancelled by absolution? Thank God that a brighter day is soon to dawn over that be-

nighted land, and that the mental endowments of its population, will ere long commence a race to perfection, side by side, with their physical energies, and the national improvement.

While we were at San Antonio, the details of one Sunday will serve for the whole year. All the surrounding neighbours flocked in early upon horseback, when they went to church, and rendered an homage which the multitude imagined would atone for past, and would palliate all the succeeding transgressions of the day. While at worship, which consisted of a few exterior forms, and the utterance of some words by the priest, that were unintelligible to them all, there prevailed great solemnity, but in half an hour they dispersed to the dram-shops where their horses had been left, and where they remained without food during the whole day. Those who had money drank freely, and in that state they adjourned to play, some with bones, like to our pitch and toss, and others at cards, which were sold for the exclusive benefit of the Crown, but their games were rarely abandoned until some unfortunates were deprived of their all, when their quarrels commenced; and they rarely ended without death, or wounds. Every officer kept one or more horses, which grazed in the contiguous fields, and they were distinguished by their cropped tails; a deprivation that stamps a disgrace upon the animal in the eyes of those South Americans. They were however objects with those unlucky adven-

turers, from which alone they could retrieve their disasters, for on every Sunday night some of them were stolen, and the thief himself turned informer, offering also to restore the treasure for a certain reward, but latterly we declined to give any, for we then knew, that pride would not allow the culprit to ride those brutes thus despoiled of their hair. The women here, as we ever found them, were very civil, and industrious with the distaff. The men on week days, were for ever on the road from house to house in the country. In our excursions we observed that they assembled alternately at their little huts, when more than a hundred horses were tied, while their masters were regaling over the cattle slaughtered for the occasion. The feast terminated with a cup of water, and neither bread or salt was used, after which they divided into their usual parties to play.

Where a military officer was stationed, he superseded the authority of the civil power, as all references of moment were made to him. This accounts in some degree for the obsequious respect which was paid by the populace to that profession, and no doubt the dictates of policy had a share in giving to it that importance, for it, and not numbers kept the whole country in awe, as the whole establishment in it, inclusive of the guardias upon the Indian frontiers, could not reach beyond 2500 soldiers, or their expences to the public more than the contingencies of a British regiment. Although their pay was not more than a

penny per day, still there were long arrears due to them, but no murmurs were heard. So long as their matebitos and papels were issued regularly, the blandengo felt himself independent. The former allowance consisted in a certain weight of the herb of Paraguay, which is taken when thirsty, or before meals, by the peons in these parts of South America, in a decoction from warm, if it can be had, or cold water without sugar. The operation is completed in the first instance within a minute, and in the last requires two, for if a longer time, the liquor assumes a dark colour, which is reckoned less wholesome. Every one carries a small bladder to hold it, and a pouch for his paper segars, with a steel and flint to raise a fire for his provisions and pipe. Thus equipped, and with his horse and lasso, to supply hunger, the soldier will keep the field for months, killing an ox when wanted, turning off his animal when tired, and taking another at will. As chocolate was scarce, and tea could not be had, we adopted the vulgar fashion of mattée to breakfast. It grows upon a tree of the evergreen oak class, about the size of a small pear, and prefers a marshy soil. It is an article in universal use amongst the poor, but the Spanish refuse it more from pride, than real dislike. There are two sorts of the herb, but we could only get the inferior at about eight-pence per pound. At first it was unpleasant from its bitterness, but we latterly preferred it to any beverage, and its happy effects as a stomachic medicine were fully ascertained. The best

portions of it are the powdered particles, the rest being like cut hay, and less strong. If East India monopoly would allow of its importation, it would soon obtain general consumption amongst the lower orders, as a healthful nourishing substitute for tea, and I doubt not but the apothecary might be much indebted to its virtues. The labourers in the mines are half supported by the drink, whither it is sent in skins, containing an arroba (or twenty-five pounds) which I purchased at Buenos Ayres under four dollars. The profits arising from the sale of it were in those days the property of the crown. Like the former custom in our own country to present wine to a caller, so mattée is introduced there, in a cocoa shell, which is ornamented according to the fashion or wealth of the host, and to prevent an interference with the strawy particles, a pipe of gold, silver, or lead, is passed through a small hole in the cover of it, globular and perforated at the lower end, through which the liquor ascends to the mouth. The most odious observance in the ceremony is, that it is circulated from one to another; beginning with the stranger.

Never could I listen with pleasure to the notes of any bird on that point of the continent; although those to the North are distinguished for their melody. But nature never fails to compensate for the defects of all her creatures, by making amends for one want, in another excellence of nearly equal value. If they are not musical, their plumage is highly adorned

not by a variety, but by the delicacy of their colours. Two kinds of opposite complexions drew my notice ; one being milk-white on the body, with a tip of black on the head, and point of the tail, and the other in every respect an exact contrast; both being about the size of a grey linnet. A few yards from our hut was a large orchard, from whence the noise of the paroquets was incessant, and would have drowned the largest rookery in clamour. Their nests were thickly perched on every tree, and we found their young well suited for domestic use. There are many wild turkies in the plantations, but they must be impervious to small shot, for none was killed, although they allowed the sportsman to approach within a few yards. Teal ducks were numerous and tame, and green plover were in flights and daring. One day some friends unexpectedly visited us, when we were badly prepared for them, but to remedy this I took with me a youth of about eleven years old, who was provided with a short lasso, having three balls of about half a pound each, covered with leather, not more than four minutes walk into the neighbouring plains, where the plover frequented, desiring him to catch a few for dinner. He threw it six times, at each bringing down his bird. The rope he employed in this was of bullock's hide of about five yards long, to which the balls were suspended, and when thrown into the air, all acted separately, when they moved in a triangular shape. This missile instrument is the boyish rudiment for the more manly pursuits

of the bullock, the horse, and the ostrich. To obviate the almost unerring aim of the bullock lasso, when directed against the human species, however desperate the expedient may be, is to close instantly with the assailant before he can strike off to clench his prisoner, and to maim his horse, or to throw in a blow if you can reach him, trying in your progress to disentangle yourself from the noose. This decision would appal him, for all those fellows were as timid as they were cruel. As a sudden reformation cannot be effected by any form of government however well-inclined, I would advise every adventurer to La Plata, to provide himself with two brace of trusty pistols, and that one of them be his companion at all times, that he go seldom abroad in the evening, unless with a native, and that he ride not far from Buenos Ayres, or elsewhere, without such an associate.

Amongst the boundless varieties we witnessed of animals and plants, our researches could not go beyond the eyesight, from a total lack of scientific references to discriminate them. A simple delineation of them all, therefore, must suffice, and the practical deductions must be the theme of the student and the naturalist. Our usual evening recreations were the chase of the viscacha, which burrows like the rabbit, but is much larger, having shorter legs, with very soft hair, a mixture of light grey and black, its head resembling a cat with thick whiskers, and a tail as hard and bristly as a fox. When in its hole, it grunts like a

pig. Their resort is near the water, and we turned them out of their retreats, by diverting its channel into them, after which we blocked them up, and destroyed them with sticks, for shot will not penetrate them. Their flesh was good, but tough, and their skins are fine materials for hats. The armadillo also contributed to our sport and luxury, for its meat is greatly prized by the rich, and in taste is akin to the sucking pig. Though small, they will produce a dollar singly at Buenos Ayres. It is covered with a kind of clinkered shell, being smooth over the head and tail, and on the throat and belly there is a little hair of a whitish hue. Their pace is not faster than a quick walk, but unless the pursuer is rapid to take them, they will dig a fresh hole in a minute, and escape from him. When its capture is inevitable, it forms itself into a close coil. A traveller must be cautious thereabouts, not to wander from the beaten paths, for it is dangerous from their little cavities, that are hid amongst the grass. Many accidents occurred in consequence.

We remained peaceably at Antonio during nearly three months, occasionally remonstrating with the commandant, on the want of punctuality in his government to pay our stipulated allowance. They became more urgent, upon our learning that General Beresford and his suite, had been compelled to move from Luxan, and that they were on full march for the vale of Catamarca, 1000 miles distant, under the escort of fifty dragoons.

This third outrage upon good faith, loosened on the part of all of us also, the ties of honour, but the Spanish authorities were never at a loss to invent some subtle apology for their treachery. They alledged that the General had maintained a clandestine correspondence with some of the leading men in the capital, and the first step taken by that guard, was to break open the desks of every officer, on the pretext of discovering some traces of it, but in reality to seize upon the original of the treaty, that had been ratified after our surrender. Another co-existing motive for these proceedings was, the intelligence they had received of our force at Maldonado having been considerably reinforced, which they feared, were early destined to retaliate our sufferings upon their own heads, and they conceived the best expedient to alienate the infliction, was to destroy for ever that record of their guilt.

The removal of General Beresford was only a prelude to a plan already decided on, which was, that all his subordinates too should be pushed to a distance from Buenos Ayres, and that they should be posted in scattered bodies, amongst the line of guardias upon the Indian frontiers.

Having openly renounced their parole, the General and Colonel Pack had already reached the Estancia de Barbones, near to Salta de Areco, after two days march, where they halted some time, and from whence they contrived to effect their escape by the aid of

two friendly Creoles, who sympathizing in their unmerited misfortunes, first conducted them to the capital itself, where they were concealed, and soon after to Monte Video, which had recently surrendered to the British army.

Proceeding in the same scheme of policy, we were apprized early in January 1807, to be in readiness for another journey, which however affected only a division of us at that time, in which I was included. Our little traps were accordingly soon packed up, but the want of money was a sad forethought. As senior officer of the body about to move, the duty of representing our forlorn state to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell of the 71st regiment, who was British commandant of the whole prisoners at Antonio, devolved upon me, and it was submitted to him officially both as being the legitimate guardian of our interests, as well as the most natural organ through which we could express our wants to the Spanish Government. All however availed nothing, and its mandates triumphed over the feelings of humanity; but whether from a defect of energy in ourselves, or from the habitual shuffling of the superior powers, cannot be accurately determined.

If an acknowledgment of civilities received from friends, is incumbent upon all, how much more then is it due to strangers, who from political causes were bound to consider us as enemies. We owe much to the humble tenants of the village of Antonio, for their

well-meant kindnesses, extended to the utmost of their abilities, and without a motive, but from natural goodness. An early impression against us prevailed every where we went, but it soon vanished, when attachment succeeded, and as the conversion was visible, it might have perhaps been disagreeable to their jealous rulers, and have been one of the reasons for changing our quarters. After some knowledge of us, the shopkeepers cheerfully tendered us their credit, not in the hope of our redeeming it from our public allowance, an assignment upon which they regularly declined, but from the opinion they had formed of our national integrity. Those fine features of character attach exclusively to the people who have a fixed residence, and who associate in numbers, and by no means to the roving peons, who are unsettled from their habits, who reject the refinements of domestic life, and who have no worldly wish beyond the enjoyments of indolence, or the gain of spoil to gratify their vices. But as both spring from the same stock, and most of both bear the same shade of colour, we can only ascribe the contrast of moral conduct, to a moral cause, yet to be corrected by time.

Our honest landlord felt deeply the news of our departure, and he realized them by tears at the last. Our regard was mutual, for while he placed implicit reliance on our secrecy, we were indebted to it for a free disclosure of every occurrence at Buenos Ayres, which he had from the priest, that gazette of every inte-

rior village, uncontaminated by the lies of the military commandant, or the alcaldí. During our stay we enlightened his notions respecting Europe, and its geography. Spain had hitherto in his idea, occupied almost the whole of the map, and that she swayed over all, but when its boundaries were distinguished, and its various territories described, his errors yielded to reason, and his former prejudices to conviction. The only part that staggered him, was the power of England, which to his natural eye appeared like a speck apart, and seemingly exposed to annihilation at the pleasure of other states. But this we defended to his final belief, by a definition of the freedom, the commerce, the security of property to every subject, of the colonial possessions, the happy constitution, the naval strength, and the natural bulwarks that skirted our island.

CHAPTER X.

UPON the 7th of January, 1807, we set out from this pleasant spot, and next day arrived at El Fortun de Areco, a distance of nine leagues, after having encountered one of the most dismal nights ever seen, of rain, thunder, and lightning, against which our waggons afforded but a wretched shelter.

The day was spent in catching partridges, which were found singly, after the manner of the country. It is much less in size than the English bird, its flight is rarely beyond fifty yards, and when it alights on smooth ground, it always runs to the nearest rush-bush, where it squats. Of course it was easily marked in. Our instrument was a long tapering rod, with a hair noose upon the end, and being all of us mounted, we followed the game. Having got sight of it, we began to move round each bird, before him, gradually reducing the circle, till the point reached its head, at which it startles, but seldom takes wing, when the sportsman entangles, and hangs it by the neck. A native never fails in this attempt, and many of them were taken by the hands at dark. Pheasants, rather bigger than our grouse were killed through the day, by the same means, and we came in contact with some zurillos, which our dogs, taught by a

bitter lesson, cautiously shunned. Two opossums and one fox, quite grey, besides three deer of diminutive bulk, and inferior flavour, were likewise included in the diary of amusement. They were all started from marshy places. The country was burnt from the drought, and water was very scarce. We had gone over a sequestered ground, known only to the guard, who directed our motions on a line with the springs upon the way. The Fort of Areco where we halted during the night of the 8th of January, is built of unburnt bricks, had two iron, and two swivel guns, mounted, in miserable order, and is formed like a star. It is the first post of defence that intervenes against the Indians, but only an ensign with six blandengos were stationed in it. It had also an alcaidi, who as usual was subservient to the military officer. We set out early upon the 9th, which presented a heathy country, abounding in deer, and a variety of snakes, and stopped for the night on the open ground, where several oxen were lassoed and instantly cooked, and all of us retired to our respective waggons to rest. At dawn on the 10th, we left it, for the village of Salto de Areco, our intended abode for a time, which we reached to dine with the alcaidi, who invited us, and entertained us well, but who unceremoniously retired to his siesta, leaving his guests to their own free will, but not without telling the company that he kept shop, from which we might supply ourselves cheap with every necessary.

CHAPTER XI.

IT was with difficulty my friend and myself procured a mud-built hut for four dollars per month, opposite to the house of that magistrate, whose charges being unusually exorbitant, we transferred our dealings to the shop of a Portugeze, who ultimately proved to us a most generous friend. Our tenement was truly humble, having only two earthern apartments; one for ourselves, the other for our domestics which communicated by an aperture in the wall. The light was introduced through two square breaches, with wood sliders, that shut at pleasure. Our foundling pup had now improved greatly in growth and manners, and was a valuable addition to our garrison. Having with me an introductory letter to a miller in the place, from a facetious liberal priest, whom I had often seen at Antonio, I lost no time in delivering it. His deportment however did not tally with his business, for he was very consequential, and like most of his countrymen, established in La Plata, the flour manufacturer had his intervals of coldness and kindness. He valued the recommendation of his friend so far, as to send us occasional presents of veal and poultry, but being prone to much disputation upon trifles, we rather avoided his company in the end.

Half a mile below the village, a river

furnished excellent sport. Besides other kinds, there were two fishes of a fine flavour, which we caught with beef. One of them was shaped like a salmon-trout, its meat was white, and the other was singular for a very large head, similar to that of a codling, which it resembled in form and taste. It always struck at the angler to bite him, and when it did succeed, the wound was difficult to heal. That hamlet is built of unburnt bricks, the houses are whitewashed by the sun, and the whole are constructed in squares, with little gardens before them. At opposite sides of one of these, the church and fort are placed; the former plain, and the latter much larger than that of El Fortuna de Areco, having two of its faces raised from indurated earth taken out of the bed of the river, and the others are protected by a ditch and pallasados. Eleven iron and swivel guns were planted upon them, in a ruinous condition, and barracks were attached in a like state. The military force allotted to its defence, if effective, consisted in one first, and one second captain, with fifty men, who were always Creoles. But this frontier post could not have withstood a hundred resolute men, twenty minutes, much less the sudden incursions of those hosts of Indians, against whom it was a barrier, whose operations are guided by no principle, and whose motions, are rapid as the wind. The relaxation of discipline observable in all those places, considering their vast importance, was of a piece with the Spanish character. The officers

had no control over their men, who being ill paid and clothed, cared little for them, or their government. Their duties were irregularly performed, and their sentries might have been seen daily asleep, basking in the sun. The main objects with the commandant of those guardias, were to traffic, and to smuggle where they could, either with their own itinerant countrymen, or the neighbouring Indians, who thrice entered the village of Salto, while we were there, to barter their goods.

A description of that process may now be appropriate, as being a slight view of the present state of the Pampas Indians, who inhabit the plains. Before entering any place, a notice is given to the military commandant of their approach, after which they appear in procession with the cacique at their head, who is distinguished by a sort of turban. They are all well mounted, and in their best attire. They always lodged their commodities aside from the street, and immediately after their arrival, both here, and at Buenos Ayres, soldiers were appointed to accompany the different retailers wherever they went, not to protect, but as spies over their conduct. The articles which they brought, were chiefly the herb of Paraguay, or mattèe, strong worsted ponchos, dyed black and red, finished so as to defy rain, one of which I bought for six dollars; wool, salt, lassoes with balls, for catching horses, oxen, and ostriches, bridle reins, tyger, zorillo, and fox skins, besides minor trifles. They go almost naked, with a wrapper round the mid-

dle only, are copper-coloured, and have a greater variety of features than any of the other tribes we saw. This may be attributed to a frequent intercourse with the Spanish or Creole women, whom they had carried off into captivity. Their hair is a coarse black, their faces broad, and cheek bones high. The men dress the hair in a bunch upon the crown of the head, and the females separate it into three tails ornamented with beads, some of them having large ear rings like padlocks, others round, in the shape and size of a small plate, and the whole sex are fond of thimbles which they put round the neck, with bracelets of beads round their ankles. They never enter the Spanish bounds upon such occasions, without a large drove of mares in their train, whose flesh they prefer to any other, and eat raw. At other times they will devour dogs, foxes, and even the foetid zorillo in cases of emergency. They are most filthy, for they rub over their skins with grease and blood to encourage the growth of vermin, in order to consume it, and it is a daily practice amongst their women, to officiate in one another's heads in quest of them ; a custom too, very prevalent amongst the more refined Creoles, and originally derived from the Spaniards themselves. As to mental endowments, the Hottentot may exult in the reflection, that there lives a race upon the earth, yet more degraded than himself. The first bargain they conclude is for their favourite spirits, and after each day's labours, the whole detachment regale upon their mare's

flesh, when they set in for a debauch. A caution is however observable, for two of the party are always planted over their merchandize, who are enjoined to preserve sobriety, while the rest of the fraternity are buried in the most brutal excess. The liquor is drank raw, and soon produces its effects. Those who are able, continue to tell stories, or sing ballads commemorative of their ancestors' exploits, until the whole sink into sleep, or roll about in a promiscuous jumble of the sexes. The last living effort they evince, before falling into a total stupidity, is like that of several men struggling against suffocation, with their faces on the ground. Subsisting upon the resources of a hunter's life, they are still more expert in the lasso, than the Creole himself. They are pagans to a man, and pay adoration to the sun.

Close to the village there are numerous flocks of ostriches, which owing to the undulatory surface of the ground, sometimes appear like an army in battle array. They are very shy, and though their fastest movements is in a zig-zag direction, yet they will excel the swiftest horse in speed. A half grown one held out against five riders three quarters of an hour, and it was at last taken under one of the horses bellies compleatly exhausted.

Early in 1807, we were at intervals joined by many commercialists who not knowing of the recapture of Buenos Ayres, had fallen, together with their adventures into the hands of the enemy. Several of them had

saved a few portable remains of them, which principally consisted of watches very inferior in quality. The unsuspecting natives who had dollars, were eager to purchase them, providing they bore the name of a London maker, but in a very few days most of them had cause to repent of their bargains. As none could repair their defects, those oracles were carried in the pocket, as dumb letters, and I much doubt if the impressions resulting from those transactions, are yet obliterated from the popular mind. The afternoon of the 18th of March was remarkable for a tremendous hail and thunderstorm, accompanied with stones like pease, and flashes of lightning that killed two women in the village, and a man near to it. Some hundreds of teal ducks that had suffered, were brought into market next morning, but the spectacle on each bank of the river, particularly proved the violence of the tempest, which must have raged like a whirlwind along the whole of its surface. Fishes were strewed upon the entire extent, some far above, and others level with the water, and our diversion upon it ended with that day. The hurricane did not continue more than an hour, and the evening was fine. The bigness of the hail-stones were held as a *phænomenon* in those parts.

Two days after, according to annual custom, a rude festival was performed by burning the effigy of Judas Iscariot. The figure large as a man, and filled with combustibles, was suspended by the neck across one of the narrow

streets from dawn until twelve at noon, when it was exploded, leaving only a few vestiges behind, which the assembled mob dragged through a pond, after which each horseman rode over them until none could be perceived, who seemed to exult not a little in the meritorious deed.

Our pecuniary sorrows now began afresh, and no relief appeared. The only compromise which the commandant could offer for the omissions of his government, was his personal security to the shopkeepers for the ultimate payment of debts, contracted with them for our support, but this they all declined, and preferred our pledges as British officers, to liquidate them when we were able, to the most solemn assurances of the public. The tatters that were sold by my friend and me merely to preserve existence, would not have graced the back and body of an English beggar. A kind Portugueze who trafficked considerably with the Indians, being aware of our circumstances, voluntarily tendered us the credit of his shop, and money if we wished it. The only security in our power to return, was a few trinkets purchased at Buenos Ayres for our friends at home, which he obstinately refused to accept. Gratitude prescribed to me, on our return from the Upper Country, to deviate from the road above sixty miles, merely to thank our benefactor, in which I was accompanied by Lieutenant Roy of the 71st regiment, who had a similar debt due to another family.

Upon the 22nd of March an incident occurred which brought matters to a crisis. Before reaching my hut, in returning from a forenoon's walk, I observed a cart before the door, and some soldiers busied in loading it with our scanty furniture, against the remonstrances of our domestics who were within. On enquiry it was ascertained that their orders were to carry it to some larger waggons in the plain, and the guard told me we were ourselves to move on the morrow upon a distant journey. As deeds only were needed at the moment, the vehicle was soon discharged, and our baggage replaced.

Being senior officer of the whole detachment at Salto, to protect their interests, and comforts, became my duty. Those whom we left at Antonio, had arrived upon the same forenoon, to be joined by us, in order for the whole to proceed to the Upper Country. Knowing our fate, decision, and perseverance were now imperative obligations; and not being subject to the commands of any superior, I could determine from myself for the general good. The Spanish commandant was very soon apprized that the prisoners at his guardia would not advance an inch until their arrears were adjusted to the uttermost farthing, and that if force was used, it would be met by force. Things remained in this state without a settlement during eight days, through which the commandant must have stood in an awkward dilemma between the orders from his superiors to push us on, and his conscious

incapacity to comply with our claims. Seeing that the resolution taken by us was not to be shaken, he adopted an expedient not unusual in those dominions, that of assessing the villagers in an amount equal to our necessities, under an official promise to refund in better times. Six week's pay were due to those prisoners who had arrived at this time. The only individuals with whom we left our regret in parting, were our faithful Portugueze, and the priest of the village who was a liberal, well-educated man, whose attentions we experienced on every occasion, and whose communications were always frank when under his own roof.

Our funds now not only enabled every one to pay his debts, but to furnish comforts upon the road before us, and it was in this happy and independent state of mind, the whole detachment set out from Salto de Areco, upon the 30th of March.

CHAPTER XII.

THE waggons were early in readiness on the plain below the village, but we did not move off the ground till the afternoon, and not farther than five miles when we halted during the night on the edge of a river. Sixty officers with their servants, besides the mercantile prisoners who had recently joined us, altogether formed a body of more than two hundred, which with an escort of one hundred soldiers, and forty-nine carriages prolonged our line of march beyond two miles, and retarded our progress over those ravines that so often intersect the country. This is accounted for, as the foremost cattle in each machine are, when in draught, four yards apart from the other four. At day light of the 31st of March we crossed the river, and reached within two leagues of the village of Roccas, which is eleven from Salto, at seven in the evening; arriving at the former about noon of the 1st of April. Upon those days the country became more uneven, and the herbage more rushy in its nature. Amidst the apparent dearth of grass, still the herds of cattle, and of horses, that evidently arranged themselves in small divisions under their respective stallions, were undiminished, besides mules that roved in numbers. Some beautiful steeds

were taken by the missile lasso, similar in principle, but much stronger than that used against the ostrich, which is thrown when near enough, and entangles the animal about the legs, who in trying to get clear involves himself the more, and at last falls, when he is at the mercy of the horseman, who without dread, will instantly bridle and mount him. He is soon broken in, by riding round a marked circumference until he is tired, and thus subdued to the saddle. Small deer, a few wild pigs, the opossum, thousands of ostriches, and several zurillos, were observed in our way, and an animal of the viper kind, one of which I had seen thrice in the same bushes, upon the bank of the river at Salto, was started. Its motion was rapid, it had a long trailing tail, and a head formed triangularly. No native could give it a name, for with them all animal, and other objects derive their titles from any similitudes in nature that are familiar to their senses. Quantities of wild thyme, a few cucumbers that tasted very bitter, and long rushes grew spontaneously, besides rich crops of mushrooms. Three plantations of cochineal presented a novelty, the cultivation of which was attempted, but badly understood, although the climate here was sufficiently propitious. It is a fly when at full growth resembling a bug, with its eyes and feet invisible, but to a microscope, as they are hid under the wrinkles of its skin. The male is distinguished by two large wings, the female having none. The

interior of the one seen was of a very deep dark red, and the external parts of a pale ash colour. They are reared on a prickly bush, on whose leaves they feed, where they pass through their successive growth, and finally beget a numerous progeny, unless nipped by winds or rain, which destroy them, or by the ants and other vermin, which are their perpetual enemies. Negroes are ever on the watch to drive them off. They are collected thrice a year, and a breed is left. Their nests are from two to three upon each leaf when prosperous, and in each are from ten to fourteen insects, which are killed by hot water, and afterwards dried in the sun. I purchased two cakes manufactured, larger and thicker than a crown piece for a dollar each, for the article is dear, and the speculation was in its infancy.

The village of Roccas is smaller than Salto, but the houses were in better repair, and finer orchards were around it. Bricks, from mud hardened in the sun, composed their habitations, and their mode of thatching them was both simple and ingenious. After cutting the turf, which is long and thick, they dip it in earth and water, when they place the wetted parts successively upon the roof, like tiles, which in a few hours attain a perfect density, and are impenetrable to the heaviest rains. The outsides were clean, but within they were sepulchres. That hamlet stands on a river which was the stipulated boundary between the Spaniards and Indians, whose

strict letter would have authorized acts of hostility against either who might presume to cross it, but the former stood in no restraint in such a trespass. The village lays upon the road which leads to Cordova through the Pampas country, and although so immediately exposed to inroads, yet the fort was in the same ruined state with Salto, and the others described. Its commandant had previously suffered from a suspicion of having aided the escape of General Beresford. We lamented him from an intimacy with his character, allowed to us by his having sometimes before visited us at Salto, where his open disposition, mild manners, and an undisguised partiality for our nation, recommended him to us all.

We remained at Roccas until the 7th of April, which interval had been employed in collecting the means of transport for those brother officers who had hitherto been stationary in it. Our own cattle had been advanced farther upon the 2d, to await our arrival, as there was a scarcity of food for them in the vicinity of the village, to graze in a pasturage near to a river that was strongly impregnated with salt, and its bed of a hard marle, intermixed with shells. To our great sorrow many favourite horses died from drinking it, who swelled exceedingly, but it had no bad effects upon the bullocks.

Our progress on the 7th was limited to two leagues through high coarse grass, and with no other occurrence than the killing of a large green snake, on the eve of parting with its

skin. The creoles shewed a powerful dread of them, and nothing would provoke their revenge more, than to hold even a dead one near to them. After resting on the plain, we departed at day-break, and on the evening of the 8th of April we arrived at the small fort of Mercedes, twelve leagues from Roccas, on which two iron guns were mounted, and remarkable only for a look-out house, about fifty feet high, from whence the eye might range to its utmost, without seeing a speck but grass, or weed. It was to guard against a sudden attack from the Indians, and a corporal with four men were its only defenders. Travelling onwards till midnight, we unyoked upon a wide heath, after having passed a large lagoon, and having run down several deer, and armadillos through the day. At this season, the distant fires of the Indians produced a striking effect, for they were interminable to the view, owing to the parched state, and length of the grass. We set forward early on the 9th, and at sunset rested within a league of the small fort of Milanqui, which we reached upon the following morning. It had only one gun, and seven mud huts. A building, intended for a church, but not roofed in, also stands near, and divine service was performed in one of the little hovels. The situation is however highly picturesque, being seated on a lake about ten miles broad, and twenty in circumference, the water of which is approaching to salt, and is indurated at the bottom. Great numbers of swans with black

heads and necks, and their bodies white, were observable, whose down and wings were objects of traffic, besides a variety of birds with the most beautiful plumage. The fort might have been insulated from the lake at pleasure, and in it a corporal with five milizianos were posted. Some murmurs having escaped those who had arrears due, which were promised to be paid up at this place, the commandant to prevent any trouble, or desertion, affected to have received intelligence that the Indians were near in considerable force, which urged him to recommend close order in our future movements, and to cover his finesse, he deviated from his former line into the main road to Cordova, which is about seven leagues N.E. from Milanqui which we found on the evening of the 11th, after having been joined on that day by five waggons with prisoners from Pergimeno, under the same destination with ourselves. Our tract had been hitherto wide from any beaten path, by which the real distance we had gone could not be accurately ascertained, farther than that it was augmented beyond a passage along the regular highway. All joined in the tally of the day, during which some fawns, and two grey foxes were literally rode down by the horsemen, having no retreats in this open country, and our dogs were seldom in at the death. Our encampment during a night of rain, thunder, and lightning, was close to the road, from which the waggons afforded little protection, and there was no cessation of the

weather until the evening of the 12th of April, when the sky resumed its serenity, and having lighted our fires, we could perceive from them the village of Esquina, where we arrived next morning. The fort there is a mean square building, with two brass swivels, and a few scattered mud huts. The river Tercero runs close to it, which rises in a branch of the Cordilleras and discharges into the Parana, twenty leagues below S. Fé, after a passage near the heights of Cordova, receiving on its way some lesser streams, and shaping with little variation a S. S. E. course. It experiences a fall, when meeting sometimes a sandy soil, it is absorbed in dry weather, but in future rains it re-assumes its name and character, in some other part. Where we were at this time its waters were brackish, but they had no unpleasant effects. This river often recurs from its positions, throughout this narrative. Its banks hereabouts are richly adorned with shrub, and willow trees, and a stir prevailed amongst its inhabitants on both sides. The depths were mostly shallow, and the bed as well as the floating sands were transparent as gold, of which both contained many atoms. The same features of filth, poverty, and wretchedness were predominant all along, amongst the people, and nowhere could we remark a spot improved by industry.

The arrears due being settled at Esquina, and a repose of some days being allowed us, full pockets and vacant time revived the

national diversions of horse-racing, and cricket, for which we always carried the materials. On this occasion we found that the horses accustomed to soft food, were ill qualified to stand out beyond a mile's heat, which with their violent tempers, untrained to the course, and the superior accomplishments of our native opponents, whose deviation from rules it might not have been prudent to dispute, our countrymen were mostly outdone in the practical tactics of the turf, and lost their money. The buying of horses too was quite in vogue, which being again stolen by the peons, a circulation of cash was incessant while we remained. An ugly club was established, which convened in the centre of our waggons, that were circularly formed, over which, happiness and good humour presided. Our mirth transferred itself to the gaping crowd, and reconciled them to our religion, and our manners, more than the strongest favours we could have imposed on them. Three pleasant days of joy and plenty, drowned all past reflection, and it was not before the 16th of April, we renewed our labours, which brought us to the village of Cruz, at three in the afternoon, when ovens for bread were heated, but from whence we started by a sudden mandate an hour after, allowing no remarks on the spot, but those that were conspicuous from its external misery. It was moreover a disappointment, for our spirit horns were empty, and we were without many other comforts. We stopped two leagues beyond it upon the ground, when the lasso men

were dispatched to catch cattle for our immediate wants, as well for the future, which we always hung from the end of our waggons. Our mess for the first time, feasted upon what is called by the peons, *carne con quero*, which is a piece of meat cut out of the animal, with the hide upon it, and is much relished by them, because none of the natural juices can go off. It is hollowed in the middle with that view, and is laid on the embers until enough. We liked it much, and often enjoyed it afterwards. Before we approached any village, the most active in every society commonly pushed on beforehand, with their large horns, which are customary to hold wine and spirits, hung by leathers across their horses, and bags in the same way for the provender. Little fellow-sympathy existed, and the most liberal minds were converted into avaricious forestallers, merely to provide for the mortal bodies that covered them.

The heights we now passed were covered with a saltpetre, like our hoar frosts, which is the staple of these districts. The afternoon was rainy, but it did not prevent the lassoing some beautiful horses. No Arabian could excel the physical address, or the equestrian activity of the riders in such pursuits. In common dull, and lazy, but mount those South Americans in their favourite vocations, the eye glistens, and every nerve is animated, which combine to shew, that proper objects, and a right direction of their energies, are only wanting to prove their capabilities in any

other pursuits. Their habitudes in slaughter, and the transports they exhibit amidst acts of cruelty to brutes, have by usage, deadened all their feelings of sensibility, and are marks of their barbarous depravity, which deadly skill, commences in its exercise with the cattle of the fields, and terminates by a callous transition upon the life of man. This partial theory of the human heart, is most beautifully exemplified in that branch of our own criminal code, which with an acute benevolence has debarred those professions, necessarily inured to blood, from even judging upon the actions of a fellow-creature, amenable to their verdict. The class of which I speak under the title of peons, are a heterogenous breed between the Creoles and Indians, tainted with the slothfulness of the former, and the savage nature of the latter. They have uniformly a revengeful scowling eye, have little beard, and never shave; are copper-coloured, very strong made, have long black hair floating about the shoulders; flattish faces and noses, mounted unless when asleep, at their meat, or when engaged in gambling. They wear a poncho, generally have boots fitted from the green hide, which do not change their shape, and are open at the toes, with large brass spurs, and their hats are small, resting on the forehead, and tied under the chin. When crossing one another at full speed, they always undo them at the same time, making not an ungraceful and reciprocal bow, with the compliments of good day, and at parting—may God be with you.

On the 17th of April, our path was along the side of a river well inhabited, and through a checkered country of hillocks, woods, and plains, but the pasture was still luxuriant. At twelve we arrived at a small village named Cabeza del Tuigere, or Tyger's head, situated upon the Tercero, where the bed of that river was composed of a variegated granite, and about seven leagues from the Guardia of Esquina. Many rivulets of a brackish taste were passed on the way to that village, which comprizes only a few houses. Three snakes were caught during the day, two of a green colour, one of them with a rat in its belly; the other being a dark purple, nearly two feet long, with ringlets on the body of a bright vermilion straw, at the alternate distance of an inch from each other. The trees that were seen in the course of it stood mostly upon gentle ascents, and had a deep green foliage like to the olive, but they had no fruit upon them. The cattle now became diminished to the eye, and a whitish clay surface, covered a stratum of salt.

We departed on the 18th at daylight, and in three hours reached Saladillo, where there were four huts, a chapel, and a fort in ruins. Here a small river incorporates with the Tercero, and after a progress of no interest, we rested in the fields through the night. At daylight on the 19th, we saw the Condores, thirty leagues off, a range of lofty hills that extends ninety miles in a South direction from Cordova. Nothing was remarkable, ex-

cept the rising ground that intervened in our way to Frailem Muerto, where we arrived at eight in the evening. That village is named from a friar having been murdered on the spot, by the Indians whom he was employed to convert. Here a fine wood intervenes, which uninterruptedly reaches Cordova, on whose verge the hamlet stands, of about twenty houses, with a fortified barrack, having loop holes for musquetry, and a very neat church. The Tercero river is here very rapid, owing to the declivities near the place, and its bed consists of pebbles and decomposed granite. We remained till six p. m. and halted at nine, having met three hundred mounted volunteers from Cordova, on their way to join the army at Buenos Ayres—Marched off our ground early on the 21st of April, and refreshed at Balestero de Esquina, five leagues from Frailem del Muerto, where there is a post-house in the plains. The dress of the people was now altered, for instead of the poncho they wear a coarse blanket of their own manufacture, which was a slow operation, for not knowing how to throw the shuttle, they invariably passed it through the hand. We had hitherto moved from Cruz-alto, close to the banks of the Tercero. On the 22d we remained near a small chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, with a curate and assistant, within a mile of that river, which now runs due West and East, and on the 23d of April stopped at a few houses, close to it, from whence we had a superb view of some high mountains, which

bound the western horizon. Some officers who had this day separated from the main body, were assailed by the peons, but they fled at the moment of a shew of resistance. The soil in the course of the 24th, became very sandy, but the grass was still very high, though coarse. Every where extensive woods were seen, the trees of which were not more lofty than our inferior oaks, and must have been the growth of nature, from their irregularity. We encompassed this noon at the edge of a large one, which several of us attempted to penetrate to an extremity, but having no compass we were soon bewildered, and it was by the guidance of the sun we were enabled to rejoin our waggons, when on the eve of their departure. In the afternoon we got into a most beautiful lawn, of about eight miles extent, and apparently the work of man, from the varied but regular plantations by which it was covered, but no mansion was to be seen. The delightful scene called forth many mingled reflections upon home, from whence we were fast journeying, and to which a few disconsolates had bidden, in their own minds, an everlasting adieu. On this bed of roses and of care, we passed the night, and started from it at sunrise of the 25th. The country now obtains a decided change of aspect. Our route was within half a mile from the Tercero, along whose banks, houses and population were in throngs, which, with the stupendous Cordilleros in our front, and the scattered clumps on every side, united to compleat a most enliven-

ing landscape. At noon we stopped amidst some woody heights, hanging over the cliffs of the river, that here rose above its level, which, with the interesting village of Capello Rodriguez and its neat church, exalted a mile beyond the right bank, our progress had introduced into the border of the picture. The surface however was a bed of sand, covered with heath, whose pasture was evidently most unpalatable to our stud, and our oxen. Under those vegetable fluctuations, a traveller ought to sell his horses from the lower country, and buy those accustomed to this new soil, for as the former loathe its food, much work cannot be expected from them. Indian corn, which may be had in abundance, is the most eligible substitute on a journey. Rodriguez is about twenty-eight leagues from Esquina. Through the day we could observe the wild goats seated in the rocky clefts like hares, from whence they looked down upon us and our faithful dogs with indifference, whose clamours and yelping could not disturb them. The whole of the 26th, presented a hilly face laid out in ridges, with the Tercero, about four hundred yards on our right. We had chosen this night a spot that yielded no herbage, and for the sake of the brutes, pushed on early upon the 27th of April, a league in advance, near to a village called Salto, being nine from the end of our journey, and six from Rodriguez. The roads before us being rough, dangerous, and intricate, the officer of the guard halted to reconnoitre the passes, and to procure guides.

The hamlet itself is only a few houses upon the Tercero, environed by stony heights on both sides of the road, and its banks are here locally remarkable by cliffs, like walls gradually descending into a valley, richly adorned by trees, and undergrowth. Across and opposite there is an oratory for the purpose of confession, when the itinerant clergy arrive, and where they convene their flock on their annual rounds. The river's bed is of granite sand, and over it there is a shallow ford, which touches upon the high road to Cordova. Near the village, some dogs killed two lions while we remained, of a darkish brown colour, their limbs strong, and with heads neither shagged nor broad. They lodged in the thick bushes around, and happily for humanity, they are timid on the approach of man, and their resistance is feeble. One opossum too, having a bag for its young, with ten teats, fell a prey to our pack. The 28th and 29th were idle days, notable only for heavy rains, with tremendous thunder and lightning, as the 30th was by its piercing winds, being then close to the Cordilleras, covered with snow.

From the 1st of May, our progress was slow, for although St. Ignatius, the ultimate destination, was not more than at three leagues distance in a straight line, yet owing to the windings, the rough roads, and deep ruts caused by the rains, we did not finish our journey until the fifth. Upon the night of the first, we rested near to a few huts, and close to woods that may now be justly raised

to the rank of forests. All were on wing upon the morning of the 2d, being anxious to anticipate the waggons in their arrival at the village of Condores, which takes its name from the numbers of that immense bird frequenting the almost inaccessible rocks in its vicinity. It consists of fifteen houses, in a valley running North and South, with a chapel, and is well sheltered by numerous flat and conical rocks of granite, which form the back ground. It stands twenty-five leagues S. S. E. from cordova, and nearly three from the Tercero to the North. Our tract had been undescribably rough, beset on all sides with rocky hillocks, in many parts like to the crater of a volcano; an inference supported by the numerous fragments of indurated lava, laying every where about them. Some of the most active ascended the mountains, which are the abodes of the condor bird. It was attended with great danger, for it is the most daring of the feathered tribe, and more especially when its territories are invaded by man. Its velocity, courage, size, and strength, raise it above the eagle, to which are annexed the effeminacies of a head and neck quite destitute of hair. Its beak impelled by its natural force, will perforate and bear off a sheep or deer, and the natives said, that if its wants were not more than adequately supplied from the animal creatures around it, it would seek to gratify them from the haunts of man. There are no rivals to dispute its reign, which is absolute alike over the beasts of the field, and their

brethren of the air. It may be well supposed that the trophies borne away from such precipices, were but few, and that they were limited to the feathers that had been moulted by nature: even these were not carried off without a few serious menaces from their original owners! which specimens fully authorize the conclusion, that the wings, from tip to tip, could not be less than fourteen feet in measurement. Pushing on from this village, the oxen were unyoked near some pleasant huts, surrounded by fig-trees. Soon after dawn of the 3d of May, our descent was slow, but perceptible into the vast plains of Calamacheyta, between the stupendous hills of the Condores, and the lofty Sierras, or mountains of Cordova, until we reached the Rio Grande, which rises contiguous to the latter, and runs through this valley, being joined in its way by several streams, amongst which is that of St. Ignatius, whose source is in the eastern parts of them. The vale of Calamacheyta, our destined residence, lays nearly North and South, and is bounded by those grand extremities, expanding a little to the S. S. E. until it touches upon the confines of the Pampas Indians.

Many inaccuracies prevail here amongst the natives, in defining the proper names of those lesser streams that pervade their boundaries, as they acquire fresh titles at every village they pass, which consequently subjects the narrative of the traveller, who occasionally deviates from their banks, to perplexity and

error. There are five of them that circulate through this vale, in arithmetical progression from one to five, all of them originating in, and descending from the Cordovan mountains, in the province of Tucuman, and finally contributing to swell the Tercero, which, as has been already said, discharges into the Parana.

A varied scene of villages, farm-houses, industry and population, at once burst upon the view, so many monuments of the exiled jesuits who yet seemed to live in the handiworks of their tutored offspring. It was impossible to pass the Rio Grande where we halted, owing to its temporary depth and rapidity, for which, patience was the only remedy, and in the evening, both having much declined, we crossed and encamped on its opposite side. St. Ignatius was now only six miles, but although we started at daylight, yet we did not arrive at it until one p. m. of the 5th of May. In place of a village, we found it but an old square building, with fourteen rooms upon three sides of it, and on the other, a decent house tenanted by a public defaulter, who held the premises, and some adjacent inclosures from the crown, with a view to redeem his shattered fortunes. Like all the other establishments of the jesuits in South America, this had devolved in property to the king, after their expulsion.

It was soon found that this spot was too small to contain more than a third of our number, and that accommodations elsewhere were necessary for the rest. Accordingly Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and others were

lodged at S^c. Rosa, four miles off; the naval officers were removed to Cordova, and the remainder were permitted to establish where they could in the country. On the 9th, every arrangement was finished, and domestic comfort and economy became the exclusive objects of every individual.

St. Ignatius is almost surrounded by woods and orchards, having a shallow river within a mile of the building. To the East, and in front of the college, there rises above them a continuation of the mountains, described on our entry into the vale, not indeed remarkable for their height, but from their being over-spread with trees, from their base to the summits. Don Ortiz our landlord cultivated a large garden with taste and economy. It was the only one I saw in South America, that contained in perfection the culinary vegetables of our island, or where they were reared upon any plan of arrangement. Apples, pears, peaches, walnuts, quinces, and olives, abounded in regular order, and onions, turnips, carrots, and cabbages, were dressed after our manner. As the contiguous river was too shallow for sport, and the noon-day heats too intense for exercise, our retreats were often amongst these shades, where we were allowed to regale upon the fruits at pleasure. Riding in the cool, visiting, and the handball now became the amusements, for the ground was every where too rugged and uneven for the cricket. We were formed into the same number of societies as there were rooms, and being far from every

supply except meat, the monopoly of every other article was vested in the tenant of the college, who also united the character of an appraiser, to that of a salesman. As we had been cast upon him for his own benefit, so he determined to act the part of a profitable steward, by making the most of us.

Near to the building and included in its lease, there were four very large inclosures, little short in all of 1000 acres, capable of yielding any crop without manure, of being irrigated at will from the river, and in a populous country, where the produce might have met a ready market, if manufactured into flour. But this bequeath from the more industrious jesuits, was allowed to degenerate into rushes and tares, excepting on a few spots which necessity had enforced the plough to enter. The substantial wall that compassed round this beautifully connected farm, must have been a work of years, for it was of sod, broad in the base, narrowing gradually towards the top, seven feet high, with deep well-cleared ditches. It had been evidently laid out by those fathers, for the sustenance of their establishment, for near to it there stands a neat little flour-mill, a living monument of their genius, which is turned by the river, and is still in use. Adjoining to it there is also a smelting-house for copper, with the furnace yet perfect, together with fragments of the refined metal scattered on the surface to perish, or more properly to return into its primitive dust.

Our landlord had a sheep-walk too, which is hereabouts defined into property, as the cattle are, from their being far less prolific and wild than in the Lower Country, the pasture being a dry grass, and springing from an arid sand, of which the rising grounds are composed. The rents which Don Ortiz paid for the whole tract and buildings, were under four hundred dollars, and soon after our arrival, he shewed that he did not want capacity to turn every thing to account. As was common, all drudgeries were performed by the negroes and Indians, who began to till the ground, to raise whatever was adapted to our use, while others were constantly employed in a trading intercourse with Cordova, from whence our wines, spirits, sugars and tobacco, were drawn. Ovens were fixed in out-houses, bread was baked thrice a week, and three retail shops were opened in the square, one of which was kept by the landlord's son-in-law, who was an officer. This bustle of preparation foreboded that our continuance was to be long.

The people of South America are certainly indolent from climate and nature, but I have uniformly observed them diligent and active, where there was a motive or an interest for their exertions. All men are prone to ease, and few would stir if the means of existence could be obtained without effort. Early indulgence engenders habit, which in a little stamps character, both national and individual; and it is under this stigma, so applicable to the whole human race, that the natives of this

new world stand accused in the eyes and opinions of the universe. But as we are unconscious of our own powers, until occasion and emergency may demand them, so are we of theirs, until similar opportunities befall them. When such may present, I will venture to anticipate, that they will perform their parts like men, and all their duties with an alert zeal.

No situation could have been better adapted for the seminary of religious knowledge, and industry than St. Ignatius, for it is retired from society and its vices, furnishes the necessities of life in superfluity, and its staple wood, enough for the axe or the chisel. It was one of the retreats of the jesuit fathers, when they were driven across to the western banks of the Parana, by the merciless Paulonese, to which they repaired with a few of those adherents whom they had saved from the sword of the pursuer. As it is not the duty of a diarist to dwell upon historical retrospect, but to state with accuracy cotemporary incidents, or those he witnessed, I will forbear any enlargement upon a topic, which affords at once a wide range for the displays of feeling, and observation, as being foreign to so humble a character. I can only attest the reverential love which animated all the surviving pupils of that order, when speaking of those pious instructors of their early years, and as forty had scarcely elapsed since they had lost their fathers, while most of those spiritual children had passed through eighty

annual revolutions, their testimonies had the weight of manhood, and of long reflection. I conversed with a few of them, who seemed ignorant of the hand that had so prematurely snatched those parents from their sight, while a sigh and a tear fully bespoke their affections and their loss, and a few records given in simplicity concerning their departed friends, told how deeply their memories were imprinted upon their own hearts.

During our march upwards, the commandant of the guard had attached for our convenience, and his own profit, two carts which attracted his attention much more than his military duties. He frequently sold and received the money with his own hand, for spirits, bread, cheese, and fish. So it was with the son-in-law of Don Ortiz, who by his licence, was only restrained not to undersell the granter of it. Our escort was now relieved by a hundred Neophyte Indians, armed chiefly with long sticks, having knives at the end of them; a few only carrying musquets which were in very bad order. The effective ordnance of every description at Cordova and elsewhere, had been forwarded to Buenos Ayres, and all who were capable of service in the community. The fall of Monte Video had produced a general panic, caused by an alarm for the capital, from an attack by the supernumeraries of that garrison, combined with those reinforcements which intelligence had informed them, were on their passage from Europe. So extensive and powerful was the impression of our final

success, that the heads of every family with which our officers had lodged, in their progress to the Upper Country, solicited at parting, some written testimonial of good treatment, in order to shew as a protection from those invaders, which fear had already converted into conquerors. Whether from dread of our employing them, or as an expedient to arm their population, I know not, but all fire weapons were searched for, and taken from our officers, by the captain of the new guard, upon his arrival. This was a serious demand, at a time when none of us could move to any distance, without the means of defence against those equestrians, who are still more numerous in that district, and equally sanguinary as those in the country below. Happily when this scrutiny took place, I was on horseback, and was met by Captain Hudson of the St. Helena corps, near the college, who acquainted me with the circumstance. I had a brace of small pistols in my pocket, which I had bought a few weeks before, from a mercantile prisoner, and by this piece of fortune saved them providentially to guard my life, three days afterwards. On the morning of the 22d of May, I left St. Ignatius upon a visit to some friends, farther advanced into the vale, at about six leagues distance. I was alone, and had just reached the ascent beyond the Quarto river, and gained the heath, when I observed a large caravan of mules, proceeding for Cordova, at its extremity. Having already gone more than fourteen miles, the horse was jaded, and

having an old red jacket, the colour soon attracted three of the drivers, who struck off at full speed towards me. Flight was useless, and must have been fatal. The only alternative left, was to close with them at once, at the same time pulling out my two dumb seconds, as interpreters of my meaning. By this resolve, so unexpected by them, I had got far within the range of the bullock lasso, which is about ninety feet, for otherwise I might have been a sacrifice. All of them assumed a menacing tone, until they saw my mute companions ready to obey their master's will, when their voices and manners were visibly altered. Frankly telling them I perfectly understood their intentions, and would be beforehand with them if they did not instantly set off; after some confused questions concerning St. Ignatius, they galloped away with the same rapidity they had advanced. It is proper here to admonish the traveller against allowing any peon to approach too near in conversation, or otherwise, for they all exist by the same means, all are actuated by like motives, and there are few who can be trusted. Deprecating all prejudice, it must be remarked that there are features in the countenance of this race, which strongly tell their inward feelings upon common, as well as trying occasions. There can be no peculiar enmity in a light copper visage, or long black hair, although it bespeaks ferocity, but it is in the eye, and their quick restless motions, that their vindictive and sanguinary spirits can be traced upon

the slightest provocations, which religion alone can subdue. The decorum which they assume upon entering the sanctuary, is an evidence of the awe they feel when in the Divine Presence, and the restraints that it imposes, and it is not their error, because they are taught to believe, that in this consists the whole of their duty. Were higher ones recommended, were morals, and not forms, enjoined upon them as incumbent, and as being more pleasing to that Deity whom they thus appear to hold in such external reverence, they might easily be led by affectionate impulse, to yield that more intellectual homage. Even their present attainments are to them a cause of triumph, for with all the pride of superiority, when speaking of the poor unconverted Indians, they contemptuously pronounce them brutos, infideles. The seeds of belief are already sown amongst them, and it will no doubt be one of the first legislative objects to cultivate them unto perfection. In this age, so distinguished for missionary zeal, and pecuniary liberality in propogating the truths of the gospel, there is not a finer field for the exercise of both, than on the ground I speak of. It matters not they are catholics, for all labour in the same vineyard, and all serve the same Great Master. Ireland has many respectable brethren, who would gladly volunteer in the sacred cause, and who are in all respects qualified to identify themselves with the opinions of the higher classes, together with the prejudices of the vulgar. To them the state would grant a free admis-

sion, under a conviction that it would be the shortest and easiest method of extending civilization, promoting social connections, and of rendering those unsettled wanderers better and more useful subjects. Constituted as their own clergy are, those ends cannot be obtained either from their activity, or education. Let then our holy emissaries be but once landed, let them be endued with the Spanish tongue, and armed with the Bible and the Cross, they will penetrate farther, and subdue more than 50,000 bayonets. It has been customary when touching upon the habits of those vagrant South Americans, to condemn them without a palliative. Have we not amongst ourselves, our proportion of murderers, and robbers, who might be trebled in their numbers, were it not for the terrors of the law?—and as all laws of so criminal a dye, are consequent upon actual commission in the early stages of society, is it strange that amongst them, the knife and the lasso should be employed without remorse, since few have been enacted, and these rarely enforced, against the perpetrators of either? But to return from a digression already too tedious.

The plan of instruction ever since the banishment of the jesuits, had been under a public control, and the professors have been nominated either by the crown, or the bishop of the diocese. Cordova is the principal seminary, but like other districts throughout the viceroyalty of La Plata, the studies are limited to Latin, the system of ancient philo-

sophy, theology, with a smattering of civil and a great deal more of canonical jurisprudence ; nothing of mathematics, or the arts that could enlighten the understanding, or tend to better the general improvement. It was only towards the close of the reign of the very last of their viceroys, Don Pino, who encouraged the establishment of a nautical school at Buenos Ayres, that the marked hostility of the crown was exhibited against all useful sciences, in an order for its immediate abolition, and the sending of their youth to London or to Paris, for accomplishments, was an illicit measure, and a heinous contravention of long standing edicts, emanating from the sovereign. With a very few exceptions, all the itinerant clergy I met with, some of whom are constantly on the move through the interior, are grossly ignorant, and intolerant. Their dress is uniform, being black or dark coloured stockings, a black vest, plain breeches, and over them a sort of dark grey robe, fastened at the neck with a button and loop, and round the waist by a belt and buckle, its sleeves so wide and long, that it is necessary for comfort to turn them half-way up the wrist, and a large black or white hat of wide dimensions. I saw only one who could converse at all in Latin, although their prayers are pronounced in that language. There are three classes of them under the denominations of curates, doctors, and missionaries. The first are the resident priests of parishes civilized, the second officiate in the Indian districts, who recognize

the Spanish supremacy, and pay a poll tribute of a dollar annually, and the last who are apostolically engaged in the works of conversion, amongst the recesses of the heathen:

An instance of depraved barbarity, and the impotence of police, occurred on the evening of the 25th of May. The wife of a soldier of the 71st regiment, stationed at S^a. Rosa, had walked over to the college, in company with a friend to make some purchases, and during the transaction was observed to change a doubloon by some of the Spanish guard. Those miscreants followed them homewards, and when near to that village stabbed her companion who died in a few minutes, and mangled the unfortunate female with knives, in such a manner that she survived only two days. The spoil was taken from her, and suspicion being raised against a few absentees, we insisted upon a scrutiny of their persons and arms. There were marks of blood discovered upon two, which, circumstantially evidenced their guilt, but strong as such proof was, yet no steps were taken either by the captain of the guard, or by the landlord of the house, and in a little time the matter dropped, but it founded ever after a mutual hostility, which soon broke out in some serious contentions. There was a general apathy in the people, as well as a relaxation in the law, to bring forth any criminal to justice. The first originated with the individual in a total ignorance of his common duty to society, the little importance he attached to any commis-

sion, however atrocious, and from a conscious feeling that he himself would have been the culprit under a like opportunity, or temptation. As the functionaries of the state, and the clergy, had absorbed far more than their share of the public revenue; the crown whose business it ought to have been to prosecute, was constantly poor, and the treasury always too empty to establish any vigorous police beyond the capital, or to hold out those rewards, so absolutely essential to accomplish its great ends. This may in some degree account for the last.

Upon the night of the surrender of Buenos Ayres, several prisoners who had been confined for various offences were released by mistake, amongst whom there was one man of the most notorious bad character, who was recognized as an habitual murderer and robber. Although the event did not at all interfere with the judicial administrations of the city, yet that fellow walked about the streets some days after, with impunity, as some of the inhabitants who knew him well said, to perpetrate more. His appearance and muscular strength exceeded those of any man I ever beheld, and his contour denoted him a villain. Soon after the melancholy instance stated, and upon one of our club nights, an officer who had gone out of the room but a minute, was struck by a black slave belonging to the house, which ensued in a scruffle, and in a few Mendozas well hit in upon the visage and body of the suttly assailant. This not being deemed

satisfactory enough, a representation of the affair was made to his master, with a demand of farther punishment, who promised to us all that it should be inflicted in the morning. This was enough, and we were satisfied, but about eleven at night, after all had gone to bed, a loud alarm of "Turn out, turn out," roused every one from his pillow. This was occasioned by the captain of the guard having, without any notice, put two of our servants into the stocks, which was commonly done for petty faults. Some seized cudgels, or sticks, and others tent-poles, with which they sallied into the square, a few rushing to the gateway of the college, to oppose the entry of the guard, which they attempted in vain. Our domestics were instantly liberated and an intimation was given to the commandant that if he did not keep his men at a respectable distance we would attack him, and moreover that he had conducted himself like a scoundrel. His reply not being agreeable, we immediately closed with his troops, all of whom were quickly disarmed, but not without leaving some conspicuous traces of British energy upon their outsides. This rough usage so very unusual to the soldiers of the king, worked upon their captain with the finest medical effects, for a sudden cure upon his temper was performed, which was ever after most placid, and as gentlemanlike as could be expected, at the same time it inspired all his subordinates with a high respect for us, and even a superstitious dread from the expressions

they frequently uttered, that we were demons, and not men. On the following morning a severe earthquake was felt at a little distance, which forced all of us from our rooms, and the whole family from their house, who incessantly crossed themselves while it continued. To them it was a prolongation of terror, and a few fancied that we had a concern in this additional convulsion, for though they are frequently in Peru, not one had been remembered in those parts by the oldest survivor. At this period the weather had been changeable, the mornings damp and foggy, with occasional drizzling rain, until nine, when the most intense heat succeeded till five, and the nights were piercing cold, with light hoar frosts. Some days occurred at the time, of thunder and lightning, during which the wind was steadily from the South. The interval adduced; was the month of June, which is there the fall of the leaf, and the commencement of winter.

In order to get free from so many restraints as were prescribed for officers in the college, and to have a wider range for observation, I got permission to join some who were resident eighteen miles farther into the vale of Calamacheyta, at the close of May.

Every one in his secret thoughts contemplated the means of escape to our army at Monte Video, and a certainty of our early removal to Rioja, one hundred leagues in advance amongst the mountains from whence it would have been impossible, ac-

celerated the following adventure on the part of Major Tolley, and Lieutenant Adamson, of the 71st regiment, which for judicious plan, its persevering resolution, its interesting details, and final triumph over every difficulty, well merits an insertion, and cannot be more appropriately introduced than in this stage of the narrative. I feel highly indebted to the friendly pen of the latter gentleman for all the particulars.

CHAPTER XIII.

LONG before the British officers were removed from the Indian frontiers, to the mountains, several plans of escape were in agitation, but all of them were abortive, from their being upon too large a scale, or the vacillating conduct of those who were concerned in it; all equally desirous to get off, but few inclined to run the risk, or to take the necessary trouble for effecting it. Several indeed were proposed upon the march, and heartily acceded to, but from incautious conduct, in part, the Spaniards suspected such a design, which of course ended in nothing; thus trifling with time, till distance had rendered the attempt impracticable to any considerable number, without the most imminent danger.

Amongst those who were engaged in the

scheme, was Lieutenant Peter (now Lieutenant Colonel) Adamson of the 71st regiment, who after all his brother officers had resigned the hopes of escape, never once abandoned the project, but who as soon as the division of prisoners had reached the vale of Calama-cheyta, examined every recess to the right and left of the country, and by means of an English sailor (John Toller, alias Snow) who spoke the Spanish language fluently, tried to communicate with some of the soldiers of his own regiment working in the neighbourhood, to procure horses and guides. Having arranged these, he then submitted the expedient to Major Tolley, who perfectly acquiesced, and agreed to share in the dangers attending its accomplishment. Some obstacles still however interfered with its execution. The want of a trusty conductor, and of a sum adequate to defray the expences of so long a journey, as the Spanish government was two months in arrears to our officers. But chance remedied the first, and the kindness of friends provided to their utmost, for the last.

All having been settled, the necessity of gaining time and distance upon the enemy became evident, and that too before they could be missed. Major Tolley instantly suggested an effectual stratagem, which was to make a visit to some fellow prisoners, sixteen miles in the country, and upon the line of their escape, where they left letters of various subsequent dates, to their brother mess-mates in the college, which were to be sent

in from time to time, soliciting supplies of linen, apologizing for their absence being deferred, and specifying a future day for their return. By this, five were gained in advance, before the Spanish commandant had the smallest suspicion, but who on ascertaining that two officers had disappeared, detached horsemen every where in pursuit, and sent an express to Buenos Ayres to intercept them, if they should cross from the city, as General Beresford, and Colonel Pack had done.

Upon the 27th of May this party of three, set off at mid-day, directing their course through a romantic wild, nearly opposite to St. Ignatius, from which they defiled into the mountains, where was the residence of their guide, but during this first day's trip, an incident, not unforeseen, occurred, that was nearly the means of overturning the enterprise. Their companion Snow, instead of being circumspect and cool, got drunk at the outset, and fell from his horse, in one of the windings of the wood, which drew some reflections from Major Tolley, upon Lieutenant Adamson, for having encumbered them with so unsteady a character. The whole however arrived in three hours at the guide's house, situated amongst high cliffs, when Snow was put to bed, while the two other adventurers adjusted their change of dress, and eat some dinner already prepared, during which the host and his wife went to collect the horses. They had scarcely gone out, when their

daughter obliged them to secrete themselves, as a stranger had called at the door, who remained till dark, when the young woman conveyed the whole through a back door into the woods, and from thence to the coral where the cattle were. This she did with so much address, as to convince them that it had not been her first essay in artifices of a worse description. Indeed the dwelling perched like an eagle's nest amongst the rocks, and impenetrable forests, favoured more of the haunt of a banditti, than the abode of a farmer, who candidly avowed his long connexion with the gangs of smugglers, that frequent the immeasurable plains which lay between it at St. Fé, whither he had engaged to conduct them.

When the party reached the coral, the guide, who was named Francisco Ortiz, produced three decent horses, and some provisions composed of boilded fowls, and bread, which were slung across each in small bags behind the saddles, after which they presented him with six doubloons as an earnest of more. At eight in the evening they commenced their journey. The night was very dark, and their road passed through a valley covered with trees, whose depth obliged our travellers to proceed for some hours with the utmost caution. As they attained a more open country, a number of houses were in view which induced the guide to make several detours, and to enforce silence, as the inhabitants had not yet gone to sleep. In this manner they travelled

till the break of day without meeting the smallest obstacle, and fell in with the river Tercero at the fall of Salta, where having entered into a wood on its bank, the guide left them, and went to a house at a short distance to change his horse, which had been done up; returning with another in an hour. They now pushed along the left bank of the river till near Capilla; a church and village situated amidst a beautiful wood, where they were obliged to keep to the left in a North-east direction, through an extensive flat covered with clumps of trees, but no houses; when having gained a small copse, it was proposed to remain till Francisco got fresh horses. On his leaving them, Snow was placed as sentry on the outside, while the other two laid down to repose, having travelled about twenty leagues, according to time and conjecture.

Lieutenant Adamson having awakened before the Major, he went to visit his outpost, where he found his centinel in a deep slumber notwithstanding the charges enjoined upon him to vigilance. Such is too often the case with men of that class, who for a momentary ease will sacrifice any trust, and who look not beyond the present hour. Their guide had now been absent more than three hours, and the sun drawing fast towards the horizon, determined Adamson to arouse the others, in order to deliberate upon future measures, should their conductor have abandoned them. Upon ascertaining their real situation, it is impossible to paint the despondency that pre-

ailed amongst this little party, in the first instance from the fear of their being betrayed, and in the second from their ignorance of the course intended to be pursued, for none of them had been inquisitive enough to enquire about it. These considerations involved them in the greatest preplexity, and nearly overturned all their pains and labour. Night was fast approaching, and decision became imperative. A proposal to move in search of the guide, was strongly opposed by Adamson, who alleged that if he had no intent to deceive them he would return, and if he should find them absent, would consequently direct his way homewards ; on the other hand their leaving the wood upon tired horses would be of no avail in their attempt to escape, as Francisco was entire master of their plan ; however it was carried against him, and forth they sallied. Most fortunately they met him on his way to rejoin them, just as the sun dipped, having been detained, he said, by an acquaintance with whom he had met, and from whom he could not part without creating a suspicion. They now made for the banks of the Tercero, which having reached, they watered their poor jaded brutes, and took up their abode for the night, in a deep wood to the left.

The guide having unsaddled the horses, and let them to grass in such a position, that they could not stray far, produced his maleta, or wallet, from which he drew some cold fowls and bread, and Snow unbagged a horn of

spirits. The party made a most hearty meal, and then spread their saddle-geer upon the ground as a bed, upon which, after wrapping themselves in their ponchos, they laid down to sleep, and enjoyed a most comfortable nap, which contributed to keep their spirits alive for farther adventures.

The day had scarcely dawned when they left the wood and river to the right, keeping the open plain from a dread of surprise. The guide was most anxious to press on for the place where he mentioned he could obtain a compleat supply of animals, but to their great astonishment he suddenly stopped short, from his entertaining doubts of the proper road, and candidly confessed that it was two years since he had travelled it, and then, for the first time in his life! The major had often hinted his surmises upon the fidelity of the fellow's intentions, and his brother-officer, although nearly of similar opinions, was forced to conceal, and outwardly to differ from them, in order not to throw a damp upon the enterprise; they however pressed the man to explain himself in vain, and the whole jogged on at a gentle pace, in total uncertainty.

Our travellers arrived at a thick wood towards noon, and having taken their station close to a very remarkable tree, the guide was permitted once more to leave them in search of refreshments, and to acquire sure intelligence respecting the proper tract, which he at last told them would lead to a village, a few leagues below S^t. Fé, named Corunda, upon

the right bank of the Parana, where he would procure them either a boat to transport them to La Colonia, opposite to Buenos Ayres, or a conductor, through the remainder of the journey. They now ventured to unsaddle the fatigued and hungry beasts, and turned them out to feed, while their attendant Snow, was again entrusted with the duty of a look out, at an opening of the forest, from whence many people, and some droves of mules were espied, it being adjoining to one of the great highways leading from the pass of Feirera to Cordova.

After an absence of more than three hours, Francisco arrived, directing them to mount and follow him, still keeping into the open country, where they went on at a rapid pace, and towards sunset, they observed several passengers with their loaded caravans from S^t. Fé, on their way also to Cordova, which urged them to incline to the right, to avoid giving the Spaniards the smallest clue by which they could trace their steps, and a little before dark, they touched upon a small rivulet, where it was proposed to stop during the night. All of a sudden, the guide here began to recollect himself, and informed them he was perfectly well acquainted with the distance of the house, at which he had determined to change their horses, and as he expressed himself, where he had some good friends ; but still fairly confessing that the road was difficult, and saying he would get a person to shew him the way, intreating them at the same time to be under no apprehensions, as they were now beyond

the possibility of discovery, or pursuit; alleging also, that he had more cause to fear such an event, than any of them. His arguments appeared so far just, as well as his conduct, which became more attentive and officious than ever, that it was agreed he should take his own way, although Adamson still continued to watch him narrowly, as the circumstances of changing his own horse so often, without bringing fresh ones for the party, had again awakened the suspicions of that officer.

A spot was chosen for the night, under a few trees which crowned the bank of the rivulet, and the horses turned loose to their own free will, for the first time since starting. A fire was soon kindled, and Francisco, after again advising them to be under no uneasiness, set out for a cottage at some distance, for provisions. During his absence, an Indian passed on horseback, seemingly taking no notice of them as strangers, and after crossing the stream, he returned in an hour, when he eyed them attentively, and afterwards shaped his way in a direct line for the house, whither the guide had gone before.

Upon Francisco's coming back, which was immediately after the Indian passed, he informed the party, that a widow woman lived there, from whom he had got some boiled eggs, a piece of veal, besides some other articles, which he began to prepare for supper, and he also informed them that he had hired a boy, to shew him the short cuts across the country, but that he could not accompany them until

daybreak. This was so gratifying, that the three laid down to rest for the night, covered as usual with their ponchos.

The anxiety of Lieutenant Adamson, had however prevented sleep, and taking advantage of the brightness of the moon, he awoke the guide, urging him to recommence their journey before day broke in. In obedience to this wish, he collected their animals, and afterwards led the party from the wood to a large estancia, but desiring them to remain at a short distance till he should call the boy, remarking also, that if all went on, it might raise suspicion, which being so contradictory to his assertions upon the preceding evening, that they could hardly reconcile his vacillating conduct, with his protestations of fidelity. In a few minutes however he returned, bringing along with him the identical Indian whom they had noticed yesterday, but who now evidently shunned their observation. At the moment Adamson recognized the countenance which he had seen before, and Major Tolley affirmed confidently that he had been one of the escort from the Lower Country, which had guarded the prisoners, and that he was most probably one of the perpetrators of the shocking murders that had taken place at St. Ignatius, previous to their outset. It was resolved however, not to enter into conversation with the fellow, nor even to know him, under a dread of unpleasant consequences. After they had proceeded about a league, the Indian struck off to the left, desiring the guide by no means to

deviate from his present track, and that he would soon overtake them, being under the necessity of going aside to a house where he had left something, but what that was, none of them could ever learn.

At the instant the Indian went off towards the left, Francisco pushed on with an unprecedented haste, noticing that they had yet to ride a great way, and he appeared more pensive than he had been hitherto, during the whole of their progress. The part of the country through which they had traversed this morning, appeared very thinly inhabited, and no cattle or houses were any where visible; a circumstance truly extraordinary amongst the plains, but after proceeding onwards a few hours, several of both were seen to the right, upon which, the guide directed them to go on, while he attempted to procure a fresh supply, from some people who were in that direction.

As parting with him so often had caused much inquietude, a plan was now adopted, which was, that the whole of them should move parallel with, and keeping him constantly in view. He was soon observed to alight at a coral, on which they partly stopped, and laid themselves down upon the grass, until their patience was exhausted, when Snow was detached to reconnoitre the houses, but quickly returned with a fresh horse from Francisco, who also sent orders for them to set out, and that he would soon be at their heels. While they were getting ready to obey, the Indian

joined, and Snow was directed to take him in advance, and to keep him in conversation until they should reach the place marked out by the guide, while the two officers followed at some distance. Upon their arrival at a thick copse of thorn-trees, and a muddy pond, with which this part of the plain abounds, they halted and fastened their horses, having first driven out a formidable herd of cattle, who offered similar demonstrations against themselves, by bellowing round in a furious manner, and enraged at being disturbed by such strange intruders. Francisco came back in an hour, and allowed them to remain no longer than while Adamson let his horse loose, he mounting him with a fresh one he had brought. He intimated extreme perplexity at seeing a Creole, who he said knew him, and urged their speedy departure, which was promptly complied with, for all were alike anxious to elude observation.

After having galloped some leagues, they again took shelter in another copse, where the Indian left them; for what purpose none could ascertain, but it was only for a very short time, and upon his return muttered a few unintelligible words to the guide, when they set out at full speed.

About two in the afternoon, our travellers entered one of the most perfect flats they had as yet beheld, in what are denominated the plains of South America. These in general abound in fine and gradual swells, sometimes being crowned with a farm-house, and a grove of peach-trees, at others, only the thistles and

the grass intercept the eye and the horizon ; while the intermediate spaces, peculiarly during the spring, are overspread with the richest clover, through whose invisible bounds the herds and flocks roam unmolested, and at freedom. But this presented during the day, a surface level as the calmest ocean, thinly covered with palm-trees, varied only by patches of thorn-wood, where the vestige of an animal could not be traced, or even the roving Saltadore in this extensive wild, which all around, seemed to be consecrated to silence.

Towards dusk the scene underwent a great change, when the trees thickened, and numerous herds were every where on their right and left, which induced our adventurers to imagine that they were fast approaching to a stage, where every thing comfortable would be provided for them, but where a very different fare was in store. A house was soon observed at a distance among the palmitas, to which Francisco and the Indian directed their way, under a pretext of reconnoitering the premises, while the party were charged to remain near a conspicuous tree, until their return, as the former remarked it was the probable haunt of smugglers, or strangers, and he appeared to be more cautious than ever ; although the latter, as was supposed, said he knew them well, that no cause existed for any fear, because they could not possibly meet with any to stop them amongst such sequestered wilds.—The guide pursued his first intention to take a close view, and went on.

In this place our refugees had continued nearly an hour, when a singular shrill whistle was heard, which on being imitated by Adamson, the Indian stepped forward, and assured them that all was clear, advising them to mount and follow him. Francisco too came up when near the house, and carried them on to a large barn, or out-house, where he had provided a lamp, and some hides for their bed, as well as beef, pumpkins, and milk, for supper ; giving as a reason, that the family of the house being absent, there were not any comfortable means for their accommodation, and that he was much averse to any of the slaves observing the strangers.

Nothing occurred during the night, as every precaution was taken against a surprize, and according to custom, Adamson roused the guide early in the morning, to proceed without delay, but was told they could not move till the horses were brought in, as it is the practice in that country, to collect and drive all of them into a square pen, named a coral, at sunset, when those who are selected for the use of the following day, are retained, and the rest are liberated, who often range some leagues from the farm-house ; and it was to that practice, our adventurers were indebted in some degree, for their preservation during the night.

Francisco being strongly pressed, departed, but in a little time returned in seeming consternation, saying that there were two Indians from St. Ignatius without, expressing great

wonder as to their intentions, for that they were at all times very dangerous fellows. He then took out his own Indian a second time, and in a few minutes came round to the back window of the barn, requesting those within to hand out his saddle to him, and immediately horses were heard to gallop off. In the mean time, Snow, who was listening at the door, could perceive the guide whispering something into the ear of the principal female-servant, but could not collect any more from it, than that "you are very religious," which was delivered in an angry, and a sneering tone. A little alarmed at this, the whole paid a keen attention to what passed without, but nothing transpired of moment, when Francisco opened the door, begging all to get ready, as the steeds were saddled. Previous to going out, he suggested they would draw their handkerchiefs round their hats and chins, so that their eyes only could be noticed, and then led them to the back of the out-house, where they saw the Indians mentioned, who were looking at the troop with a minute attention, but what rendered matters the most vexatious, was, to find that the same horses they had used upon the preceding day, with the exception of one, were all that had been provided for the day before them. He stated as an apology for this breach of contract, that as the master had gone abroad, he could not persuade the slaves to accommodate them with others, without his express permission.

The Indian according to the directions of

Francisco, led them off at full speed, who was observed to follow them in a short space of time. As soon as he joined, he directed their movements towards a wood, two leagues in advance, where they were to await his arrival, from some houses upon the left, where he would not fail in getting a fresh remount. They could not however avoid remarking, that the guide instead of going directly to the point he proposed, kept wavering and undecisive upon their rear, and evidently very unwilling to lose sight of them ; but the trees becoming so thick, and the Indian carrying on rapidly, he was soon out of view. In two hours they reached a small clump of wood, where he dismounted, but not admiring its position, they again set out.

About two miles farther, a Spaniard came on at full gallop and demanded peremptorily of the Indian, whither they were going ? For if to S^t. Fé, he said, the road lay much more to their left. The fellow grew very sulky on being so questioned, replying that they were upon a very good road, at the same time asking Snow for his knife, which the stranger no sooner saw than he struck off in great haste to the left, leaving them to continue their route, without further trouble. Snow being immediately ordered to renew conversation with the Indian, desired him to restore his knife, and also asked him the reason of his borrowing it at such a time. The fellow after great hesitation at last returned it, saying very coolly it was his intention to have killed the

Spaniard if he had continued to tease him with questions. The party attributed this to the zeal of the villain to serve them, as they had presented him with some money upon the night before, to secure him to their interest, although the sanguinary resolution surprized them not a little; but it had a very opposite motive, as it will be evident in the sequel, his only fear was the loss of his prey.

They very soon got to a wood which much delighted, and seemed to suit the Indian's fancy, in which their cattle were unsaddled, and were fastened by their lassoes to feed, while the Indian ascended to the top of a tree, from whence he might espy the approach of Francisco, or any stranger, and Snow kept watch to the rear. The two officers then reposed tolerably well for a few hours upon the grass, but as the sun was now fast verging down, and no guide was to be seen, they began to conjecture that he must have missed the wood, and directed the Indian to go on to the houses mentioned, for intelligence. He obeyed with great reluctance, and returned with an odd story, just as the sun had gone down. His message from the guide was, he said, that they must send him money to purchase fresh horses, and that otherwise, they must restore those they already had. Such an insolent demand astounded them greatly, and it was sometime before they could make any reply; at last he was told that Francisco knew well enough they had none, as he had got all they had upon their outset. The scoundrel in-

stantly demanded how much money had been given to the guide, and several other questions that plainly indicated they were betrayed. He went even so far as to attempt untying the horses to draw them off, which Adamson no sooner perceived than he pulled a pistol from his pocket, which very much disconcerted the villain, and taking advantage of his confusion, endeavoured to prevail upon him to accompany them to Corunda, promising to pay him yet more liberally than they had Francisco, if he acted faithfully towards them; but all without effect, for nothing could alter him.

Finding every effort to procure another guide ineffectual, it was resolved to accompany the Indian to the house, in order that they might learn themselves the cause of Francisco's detention. After riding half an hour they observed a bright fire some way off, which the Indian said was lighted purposely to guide him back, and as they approached nearer he was informed by the party that they were well armed, and prepared to resist any attack, or insult offered; and also that the moment they could observe any symptoms of treachery, he would most undoubtedly be the first victim. He answered coolly that none was meant, but said at last that their guide was not at the house, nor did he know whither he had departed, but that it was necessary he himself should go on before, to solicit accommodation from the landlady for the night; engaging at the same time to accompany

them in the morning to Corunda. Expediency compelled them to accede to the rascal's suggestion, who soon returned with an invitation for them to sup and sleep at the house. Determined that they should not fall into any snare, Snow was pushed on to take a close inspection of things, who came back and reported that the place was full of men, declaring he would not venture farther, and pronouncing a weighty oath, mingled with a prayer, that all was lost, as the Indian had just before told him, he might be spared, but that the officers should not escape. Conceiving that this account proceeded much more from a temporary timidity, than any real danger, Adamson proposed for the Major to keep the Indian in charge, while Snow and himself made a second trial to ascertain if Francisco was really amongst them, or if it was planned to rob and murder them, as was affirmed, to which proposal Major Tolley readily agreed.

The night was extremely dark, and the glare from the fire served only to render every object upon its right and left, the more obscure, which forced them to proceed onwards with great caution. Upon a near approach they were challenged by the same tone of whistle that had been formerly used by the Indian, which was again responded to by Adamson as before; upon which the word "Alerto," was uttered in a low voice to his left, and almost at the same instant, it was repeated in a clamour to the right, when moving some paces to the front, he observed a man with a lasso

in the act of doubling it back, and round his head, in order to entangle Snow, who noticing the effort, at the same moment, wheeled his horse rapidly about and cried, "O Jesus! Mr. Adamson follow me, we are all lost!" he galloping off at full speed, in which he was as quickly attended by his friend, who obeyed so forcible an order without delay.

Upon their coming in contact with the Major, and after briefly representing the circumstance to him, Adamson suggested, and attempted to shoot the villain who had thus betrayed them, but he was restrained by the former, who would not consent to so rash an alternative, which might tend to involve them in still more serious consequences, but as the moments were precious, and a pursuit certain, Snow thrust his long knife into the flank of the Indian's horse, and compleatly disabled him; after which the whole set off at full speed through the wild, not knowing where they were, or whither they went, or upon what point they should direct their course.

Neither road, nor the vestiges of a track could any where be seen, and they were frequently impeded by thickets and copses, through which it was no small difficulty to force their way. Add to this, they momentarily expected to hear the noise of those sanguinary banditti at their heels, and still the fire appeared at a short distance, which led them to suspect that instead of leaving it behind in a straight line, they were only moving round it, and if so, that they must inevitably fall into their hands at

the break of day, when they would be enabled to collect their horses. Full of this idea, they halted for a few minutes, as it was now essential to adopt some decisive plan for their future operations. Two were submitted under this dilemma. The first was, whether to persevere in their original scheme of going upon S. Fé, or secondly to shape their way for the river Tercero, which would be a sure guide for them to the Parana. The latter was preferred, because the Indian being apprized of the former, their destruction, had they embraced it, would have been sure. This resolution being fixed, Adamson now undertook to conduct the party, and it being too dark to distinguish the compass bearings of his little pocket oracle, he took a star for his director, and steered directly South.

Midnight having arrived, and conceiving that they must have far out-run their enemies, they rested until the rise of the moon, and gave to their worn-out brutes some food and respite, as well as to themselves, for Snow volunteered to watch over them all. For this purpose their cattle were unsaddled and tied together with lassoes; but this fresh instance of confidence nearly ruined every thing, for that fellow having taken the end of one of them in his hand, while the animals were feeding, he fell into a sleep, and being haunted by frightful dreams, and the terrors of being murdered, he started suddenly up with a loud scream, at the same time letting go his hold, when the horses set off at full gallop! It is

impossible to describe the melancholy reflections that now obtruded upon the minds of those refugees, whose situation had thus become in the last degree wretched; but most providentially, the horses being nearly exhausted already, they did not stray far, and after some trouble were again recovered.

Impressed by such repeated examples of the little confidence they could place in their attendant, they immediately remounted, hurrying on towards the South until light broke in, which was attended by so thick a fog that the whole had nearly stumbled into the Tercero, whose banks they reached much sooner than they hoped for, having travelled during the night more than forty miles. But when they arrived upon them, they could neither hit upon a fording place, nor were they aware of what guard or village they were approaching, which made it prudent for them to creep slowly along the left side in quest of intelligence, as they were now wet, cold, and hungry. As the thickness however dispelled, they entered a small cottage, where a few females were, who kindly gave them some *mattée*, quite warm, which, with an excellent fire, enlivened their spirits greatly. It was here also they obtained such information as to determine them to cross the river as soon as possible, and afterwards to proceed steadily along its right bank, until they should attain the Parana.

Before they moved at first from the vale of Calamacheyta, Major Tolley advanced many

objections against their starting with so slender a stock of money, for both together could muster only eleven doubloons, and three English guineas. From that sum they had now paid their treacherous guide six doubloons at the outset, and of course they were afterwards poorly provided to undertake a journey of seven hundred miles, through an enemy's country, which still lay before them, without a conductor, or a friend, or even a correct idea of the roads they ought to pursue to elude their foes. Under those existing considerations, Major Tolley advised their return to St. Ignatius, from which their escape might as yet be doubtful, where they might recruit their finances and other necessities to enable their renewing the attempt, throwing out also some reflections upon Adamson, for his too sanguine temper, and his premature measures, which were in some respects just. The latter however being resolute to persevere, the Major acquiesced likewise, under a conviction that they had now gone too far to recede.

Having remained a short time with those hospitable women, they entered a thick wood upon the bank of the Tercero, with a view to refresh the horses previous to their crossing it. In this recess every plan for the future was more clearly arranged, and the Major changed his poncho for a blanket, which he had hitherto worn under his saddle, so that they might not be traced out by their dresses.

At eleven o'clock they forded the river in presence of some Spanish soldiers, who mistook

the Major for a priest, in this disguise, at the village and guardia of Frailem Muerto. Not choosing to pass through this place, they went some hundreds of yards above it, upon the Cordova road, from whence they darted abruptly to the left, making a detour through the woods, which brought them to a post-house, between it and Saladillo, about five leagues distance. Being in want of every thing, Snow was sent to that spot to buy bread, while the officers penetrated a little into the forest on the side of the river, there to await his return. He had scarcely however come back with a very inadequate supply, when they were seen by a negro, who believing them to be robbers, immediately went for a Spanish corporal and two soldiers to apprehend them. At first the former was very shy, but imagining that the negro might be mistaken, he approached them more closely, and upon ascertaining that they were white people, he behaved with great civility, although his conduct fully evinced that he knew them, but affected ignorance of it. Upon his understanding that they wanted horses, he invited them to his house, and offered to sell them as many as they required, telling Adamson, who felt a little backward, not to be alarmed, for he would treat them as well as his humble cottage afforded. Although they were averse to the risk of communicating with any one who might be induced to form plots against them, yet it had become a matter of necessity, as well as to assume a cheerfulness of manner, as a blind to the people,

who now began to be very inquisitive about them, and it was not without some address they shifted the many questions proposed by them. The party now imposed themselves as merchants from the interior, who were on their way to the Parana, to bring back Merchandize, some of which was contraband, and that it was their desire to pass on with secrecy, in the prosecution of such an object. Apparently crediting this assertion, the corporal led them to an old dismounted waggon, which had been converted into a residence for himself and family, where they were regaled with some hot mattée, and purchased two horses for six dollars, and the father of the wife was mounted upon another, who accompanied them into the main road, and past a post-house, as they were afraid to continue, although pressed hard, to sojourn some hours longer, and promised roast beef for supper.

It was quite dark when they left the waggon, and about midnight they struck into a wood two leagues distant from Saladillo, and having taken every precaution against another escape of their cattle, they laid down to sleep, it being more than forty-eight hours since they had enjoyed any rest.

Before day, our adventurers resumed their way, in order to pass Saladillo about sunrise, but to their grievous disappointment, found that their purchases of yesterday were both lame, which obliged them to apply at a farm-house for a fresh supply. The landlord of it no sooner saw the brute upon which Snow was

mounted, than he claimed it as having been stolen from his uncle, and very plainly told the party that he knew them very well, but that it was far from his intention, either to detain or betray them; on the contrary, he engaged to give them the best cattle he had for their purpose, and the best advice in his power, if they would accompany him to his house at the distance of a league. He shrewdly remarked at the same time, that he wished well to the English, whom he would rejoice to see in possession of the country, as they were a very superior people to those who now held it. Our adventurers attempted still to pass upon him the tale of their being smugglers, but the man replied, "Yes yes, I know well enough what you want to smuggle, plenty of powder and ball; however I sincerely wish you success." Finding that no alternative was left, they accordingly accepted the invitation, and on going in, were sumptuously refreshed, and their maletas replenished with beef sufficient for some ensuing days. While all those preparations were going on, the man's father entered the house, and on being informed whom the strangers were, he expressed great surprize at the boldness of the undertaking; saying that it was impossible they could escape. The son contradicted this opinion by replying he was wrong, for "He knew the English, that they were a brave nation, and capable of much greater things," while he at that instant turned round to them hastily and said, "Tell me my friends what made you come

upon this side of the river ? It is a great wonder you have got on so far, but you must cross it again immediately, for you cannot be in safety here, and in the mean while you must go down to its bank, and there conceal yourselves until past sunset, when I will bring you horses, and a guide to conduct you over the ford at Cruz-alto." They instantly followed his directions, and the man proved faithful to his promise; with the exception of some imposition in the value of the cattle, who were truly miserable creatures; but they rejoiced to get off with the expence of a doubloon.

Their companion who was to lead them to Cruz-alto, and across the river, was by birth a Cordovan, and a deserter from Buenos Ayres, but he gave them the most judicious and honest advice, begging them by all means to keep the left bank of the Tercero, and some way into the plain, to avoid the guardia of Esquina, or elbow of that river, until they reached near to S'. Fé, where they might make a push upon the Parana, either above, or below St. Lorenzo. He then offered to sell his blunderbuss, but finding them scarce of money, took his leave, and wished them a prosperous journey, about nine o'clock at night, after having conducted them a mile into the plain.

Soon after parting, our refugees having lost the tract, wandered some hours in this waste, in a state of uncertainty whether they were gaining or losing ground, until nearly exhausted, in search of a shrub or bush, to which they might have fastened their horses, but

none could be seen. Snow was detached a little to the left, to examine a spot which appeared very dark, and to try if shelter could be found ; but in the mean time the wind rose, and along with it so thick a fog, that objects could not be discerned at ten yards distance. Nothing therefore now remained but to stop where they were, in order that their attendant should not miss them in the morning. Accordingly the cattle were fixed together by a lasso, the Major placing the other end of it round his arm, for security, but this had nigh proved fatal, for the brutes taking fright, dragged him after them a considerable way, before Adamson could assist him, and the accident hurt him severely. In the morning Snow rejoined, having spent the night as uncomfortably as themselves, completely wetted through with dew. After a quick movement through the plain, chiefly guided by their pocket-compass, they gained a post-house at sunset, about twenty leagues from S^t. Fé, without any remarkable incident, and it was the first night since their setting out, that they were lodged under a roof, and in a state of security. The inhabitants yielded an implicit credence to the story of their being smugglers, treated them with the most liberal hospitality, considering their humble circumstances, and it was with much reluctance they would accept of a dollar, for their kind entertainment of both men and brutes, through the evening and the night.

The horses being greatly refreshed by their

plentiful cheer, they travelled at a very round rate in the morning, and having gone some leagues, they reached a ford, to which they had been directed, where it was resolved by the party to breakfast upon its edge. This step produced another untoward accident, which nearly rendered all their labours and sufferings unavailing, for the unruly animals taking fright at something or other, flew off while they were sitting on the grass, tearing Major Tolley's saddle almost to pieces, and they had no sooner recovered them than a Creole accosted them, saying, "that he knew them to be English, and advised them to be cautious, as guards were posted along the whole bank of the Parana, who had already apprehended two people in attempting to make their escape." Immediately on their being informed of this, the party mounted, forded the river, and directed their course upon St. Lorenzo, near to which, they arrived before sunset, and at a small hut belonging to a Paraguay Indian, who was the herdsman of a large estancia. To him they repeated their old tale, begging to learn from him, if a canoe could be hired or bought, to bring up their goods, which they told him consisted of many articles, but more particularly of black tobacco, (of which those natives are excessively fond,) and if horses or mules could afterwards be procured to transport them into the interior, before the Spaniards could have intelligence of their proceedings. The Indian and his wife gave their advice, and most heartily combined in the scheme, pledging

himself to have cattle ready against their return, providing that they would in turn engage to rendezvous at his house, and to employ him as a joint-labourer in the business, which he seemed to relish greatly.

In order to confirm his sincerity and zeal in their cause, he proposed at once to go in search of a canoe, which was eagerly seconded by them, and Snow having been provided with another horse, accompanied him to strike the bargain. They were however unsuccessful, and it was agreed on to rest in his cabin during that night, and to proceed early the following morning to the neighbourhood of St. Pedro, where this Paraguayan had fellow-countrymen, whom he said would assuredly accommodate them.

After having travelled about six leagues, they arrived early next morning at this wretched hut of skins, where they found that the canoe was quite out of order, which compelled our adventurers to wait nearly two days in concealment. Upon one of these, while Snow was smoking a segar at the fire that was burning on the ground, while the two others were hidden by a sort of partition, a Spanish serjeant entered the cabin, and immediately began a conversation with the former, which turned chiefly upon the operations of the English on the opposite side of the river. Understanding from Snow that he was well acquainted in Monte Video, the soldier expressed himself in the most doleful terms upon its fall; asking "If the English were devils,

or had wings, for how was it possible, added he, they could otherwise have got in?" Snow consoled him by replying "That they were a very bad people, and that he did not doubt but they might have some connexion with evil spirits, if they were not actually such themselves"—upon which, the old serjeant took his departure, exclaiming in a loud, but woeful tone—Oh Monte Video!—Oh Monte Video!

The canoe having been reported as fit for service, Adamson and Snow went to examine into the truth of it, but found upon trial, that she would not keep afloat above ten minutes. It was then represented to their Indian friend, that another must be procured, as it would damage all their merchandize, upon which he promised to obtain a good one six leagues farther down the river, if they would give him nine dollars as a recompense for his trouble. Having acceded to the proposal, the party set out immediately, and by three in the afternoon, they stipulated with another Indian and his companion, to carry them to the mouth of the Parana, at Martin Garcias, for fifty dollars. At last they embarked with a sheep, a dollar's worth of bread, and two horns full of spirits, after fourteen days and nights of wandering, and laying amongst the woods and the plains.

The river Parana, so far as our travellers had an opportunity of examining it, or could learn, is here about three leagues in breadth, and widens gradually to ten, opposite the island of Martin Garcias, receiving before it

reaches that part, several very large rivers, and especially the Uruguay, by whose addition it constitutes the Plata. Upon the South side of the Parana, there are many insular spots, some of which are very fine and broad, being also six and eight leagues in length, excluding from the view by their beautiful woods, every other prospect. The numerous labyrinths which are formed by them, present many, and perplexing obstacles to the inexperienced navigator, and it demands a long practice, and a thorough knowledge of them all, to qualify any one in assuming the pilotage of vessels of little burden, either up or down the stream. The open water to the North too, owing to its shallowness and breadth is very precarious, particular when the Pamperos or South winds, blow, which frequently drive the Indian canoes on shore, and often dash them into pieces, even amongst the narrow intervals between the islands.

Behold then those adventurers embarked in a little vessel hollowed out from a single tree, not more than seventeen feet in length, or two in breadth, with two paddles, a mast, and a sail made from two horse-rugs. Thus provided, they had yet to navigate near one hundred and seventy miles of this wonderful river, and totally left to their own resources, as the Indians were utter strangers to it, they having never been below St. Nicolas, a village upon its bank, about forty five-leagues from Buenos Ayres. Our travellers miscalculated greatly the time, and the stores necessary to

accomplish finally their undertaking, imagining that two days would have placed them opposite to Colonia, which was the point aimed at, but they were much retarded by adverse winds, and were once more compelled to put ashore for food, which they happily procured at a few huts on their way down. The poor Indians appeared uneasy on their passing beyond St. Nicolas, but on being told that Snow was a complete pilot for the whole river, they were perfectly reconciled, and gave themselves little concern, except when any of the party complained of the unfavourable breeze, when the poor faithful creatures would say, their masters must have patience, a virtue which they had much need to practice.

After a train of persevering efforts, they passed the village of the Conchos during the night of the 19th of June, and having got well down the river Plata upon the following day, they gained sight of his Majesty's gun-brig, the *Charwell*, at that time cruising amongst the narrows. It is needless to add, that their reception was warm and kind, and that they were not long before they experienced the luxury of clean linen, having not once shifted themselves since their elopement, or enjoyed one night of secure repose. Their state and feelings may easily be surmised.

The two honest Paraguayans were rewarded far beyond their contract or their hopes, their canoe was unexpectedly restored to them, they were loaded with every necessary for their voyage homewards, and went away strongly

impressed with a high idea, which they would doubtless spread abroad amongst their countrymen, of British talents, courage, generosity, and honour.

As for Snow he too was recompensed beyond his expectations, and had it in his option either to enter into the fleet, or to take a passage to England, and as he preferred the former, was allowed to remain. Although his conduct had been stained by unsteadiness, he was still staunch to his trust, and he was greatly aiding in the final success of the enterprize, by his knowledge of the Spanish language, and of seamanship.

The recovery of two officers who were so intimately acquainted with the geography of Buenos Ayres, and its environs, were of high moment at so peculiar a crisis, and as their zeal to serve their country, was strongly manifest, both in the motive that induced, and the hazards they ran to return to it, so was it effectively consummated by a tender of their abilities as companions in arms, with that expedition which was soon after undertaken from Monte Video, against the capital; in which Lieutenant Adamson was severely wounded in the hand. They were universally congratulated by their brother-soldiers, and both are still in existence; respected not more on account of this lasting memorial of their fortitude as men, than from the subsequent distinguished tenor of their military lives.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOON after those officers disappeared, preparations were made to transport the others from their different quarters, in separate divisions, towards the mountains, and one detachment was put in motion towards Rioja, early in June. As the travelling in carriages was now impracticable, mules were the only substitutes, the dearness of which, and the poverty of the government, were the only obstacles that interfered with a general and a simultaneous movement of the whole body, towards the upper districts. The Spaniards often tauntingly jeered us, that as we had invaded their country in search of gold, we might depend upon having enough of it before we left them; and there is little doubt but that our final destinies would have been placed amongst the mountains of Potosi, if they had not been diverted by those military events at Buenos Ayres, in the beginning of July, which compromised for our release.

This fresh and partial removal, caused another attempt to avoid so sad a doom, on the part of Captain Jones of the 71st regiment, Lieutenant Sampson of the St. Helena corps, and Mr. Davis of the East India service; which did not terminate so happily, for being betrayed by their guide, to whom they had given at the outset too liberal an earnest, they were over-

taken by a few soldiers from the guard at St. Ignatius, before they had fled fifty miles, and carried to Cordova, which is about twenty-two leagues North-west from the college. About the same time the suspicions of the Spanish Government rose to a very high pitch against every Englishman, for the governor of that place put a soldier of the 71st to the torture, under pretext of his being privy to some insurrectionary plot, but nothing transpired from that cruel infliction, and every officer in the town was debarred from his usual indulgencies, by a public order against their going abroad. As for myself, I had continued in a peaceful retreat, amongst the hills that all along diversify the vale of Calamacheyta, situated near to one of the many streams which intersect its plains. Our mess consisted of three, and we tenanted the end of a large wheat granary, for five dollars per month. On going thither, I purchased two very fine cream-coloured horses, and a little hardy brown pony, which was better adapted for the stony roads and soil, that every where prevail, for nine dollars, because in that spot, almost detached from mankind, riding was the only amusement. We adopted a new method to secure that property against those vagrant peons who swarm hereabouts, as well as in other parts, by allowing to a slave of our landlord, half a dollar per week to fasten each animal with a brood mare, which were almost domesticated to our habitation, and who was obliged by his contract, to bring them into a stable in the

morning, from whence we took them in succession, as we generally tired out the whole every day. Taught by experience too, we never cropped any of their natural tails.

The uniform surface of the rising grounds in those parts is a stony pebble, and the herbage a heathy coarse pasture, which the flocks of sheep, and small breed of horses, prefer to the broad-leafed luxuriant grasses, that grow spontaneously in the intervening hollows. The mutton was delicious from those animals, who commonly had three lambs, with some four, and others five horns, and their wool was reckoned of a very superior kind, which was carefully and regularly shorn for the manufactories of every private family, while all the excess met a ready market at Cordova, where some very flourishing establishments are, both for cloth and cotton fabrics. That industrious capital of the province of Tucuman, situated upon the direct road from Buenos Ayres to Peru, diffuses a commercial spirit many miles around it, as it might have been termed at the period of which I speak, one of the principal entrepots for the gold and silver of Peru, as well as for the various mercantile transits from La Plata, its own staple commodities of vegetable and handiwork production, and of those numerous herds of mules in the surrounding districts, that altogether constituted the returns to that viceroyalty for the precious metals. It is not to its local advantages alone, that city is indebted for its prosperity at the present day. That wealth which flows from mechanical

labour, may be retraced in its origin to the institutions of the jesuits, for wherever their footsteps can be marked throughout the country contiguous to their once virtuous abodes, the loom and the distaff are exclusively amongst the appendages of the meanest hut. A handsome memorial of that order is still extant in Cordova, although converted to other purposes in the college, which all who were resident said, was a building that seemed as if consecrated to ages, but which has unfortunately for the universal good, been decreed long to outlive their beneficent empire. In room of the fathers, there are now many clerical institutions, an university, and a place set apart for the tuition of the higher classes, from distant quarters in the provinces of La Plata.

Several officers having formed an acquaintance with some families at the village of Spenies, about twelve leagues distant, represented the track in a South-east direction, as every where mountainous, and rocky. They visited a farmer named Don Gregorio Berrotaran, who inhabited a house far superior to any they had seen in their journey, which was whitewashed, and covered with tiles, but it was seated amidst hills and cliffs, and from whence they ascended to the immense heights of Potociorco, which yielded an extent of prospect, more than fifty miles, through the plains leading towards Buenos Ayres. In order to obtain a still better view, they scrambled up a ridge on the top, of nearly forty feet high, and

one hundred and sixty yards in breadth, where they could distinguish only three small huts along the entire range, and two rivulets visible to the eye, as deriving their sources from the North and South-west quarters, which passed through to an undetermined point, occasionally watering the low grounds. That gentleman's ostensible profession was a sheep-dealer, and farmer, although he had many cattle, and no fields cultivated beyond those that were necessary for his family and domestics. An excursion they took to another dwelling, which they described as having a much grander appearance, convinced them that the population was extremely thin, and improvement in its infancy. Near to the last, in this sequestered wild, there was an oratory with a priest, and four huts, whose tenants composed his congregation, which they also attended, having a few quince and peach-trees about them. Their entertainment was abundant, and kind, and it being Sunday previous to their return homewards, the padre of the chapel was invited to dine with them, who had little conversation, but adjourned to cards immediately after, where he sat till night, while the girls and the rest were dancing. The same young ladies returned the visit soon after, notwithstanding the distance, without any protectors, and they spent three pleasant days at an estancia, about three miles from our's in the vale, enjoying partly the same amusement in the evenings, and horse-racing through the day. To these our mess was invited, and I

had an opportunity to observe in them all, much unaffected good-nature, under rather a ludicrous dress, which was a dark riding-habit with petticoats tied outwards, and very large hats stuffed with lofty ostrich feathers, pointing different ways. When going forth to the race-ground about a mile off, three of them were mounted upon one horse, and the latter part of their attire rendered each animal and his groupe of riders, most truly laughable.

Our landlord held a large farm upon a fine level, as well as cattle and horses, who did not go beyond his bounds, and flocks that roamed about the hills. He was besides a considerable dealer in wheat, which was stored in the opposite end of the house we tenanted, and was occasionally retailed, but his chief traffic in it was with Cordova, as that in mules extended to Salta in Tucuman, although they were frequently sold to dealers, who buy them up purposely some months previous to March, when the grand annual fair is held there. From his intercourse with the former place, he was far more intelligent in the general barter of the country, than most of his compeers, but he was peculiarly reserved in his temper, and evinced a professional avarice, even in his subordinate transactions with ourselves. We pressed him much to sow some vegetables, of which he had the seeds, and to plant a few potatoes, a root that is known to many, of a sweetish taste, but he declined both on the score of trouble, although it must be confessed that he paid more attention to, and

had a greater extent of land under corn crops, than any farm I had remarked throughout our travels.

It was our practice in this retreat, every morning after breakfast, and before taking the exercise of the day, to read and set down a portion of the Spanish Grammar, which was the only mean we possessed of attaining that language. Having as usual finished my own lesson, and locked up the book in which it was registered, in my potak, or small leathern trunk, we were astonished to see a long line of soldiers, descending from the heights in front of our house, with an officer at their head. Not anticipating that the records of parole, subscribed by those Spanish officers who were comprehended in the capitulation of Buenos Ayres to the British, would ever be required, after we ourselves had become prisoners in our turn, I always inserted my morning exercise within the same cover that contained them. Little did we think that the volume alluded to, could be the object of so great a military force, and it had been just placed on the top of other articles in my box, in a careless manner. But the sequel will shew that it was deemed of much value, by the public authorities at Buenos Ayres, and Cordova.

Having, as already stated, filled the office of Commissary for prisoners of war, in the capital, it occurred to General Liniers, that I must consequently be the depositary of all the documents connected with it. Before our departure from it, great preparations were

made by voluntary levies, not only for the immediate purposes of police, but for the future defence of the city against attack, which the most sagacious foresaw, would ere long be made. Their agents in Monte Video after its surrender to the British, were numerous and active, and from those sources the government at Buenos Ayres were regularly furnished, not only with the authentic particulars of every local occurrence, but also with those that were most recent in Europe. Thus they were early apprized of that expedition which meditated the blow, even almost before it left our ports, when it was enforced upon them as a high duty to make ready for the worst. Although late events had aroused a military enthusiasm amongst the people, and the better orders of their youth, still the Buenos Ayrean army, with all its numbers, was no better than a rabble, from a total want of either knowledge or experience in its officers. The best, and the most effective of that class, were still under the same restraints of honour not to serve against us until regularly exchanged, as if the reconquest of the city had never taken place, and as they could not, like soldiers, be created at the moment of emergency, so the public determined to remedy this deficiency at once, by another bare-faced sacrifice of integrity and good faith.

It was at such a crisis of state necessity, that Captain Martinez, its delegated agent, appeared with his guard, in search of a record, the only existing tie that bound those military

servants to a perfect neutrality, which many of themselves were reluctant to violate either from a dread of future consequences, or an assumed sense of propriety, unless the original was restored, or for ever cancelled. In short, his grand aim was, in obedience to his instructions, to regain the effective use of those men in the ensuing campaign, which was to be decisive of the continuation, or overthrow of the Spanish empire over La Plata.

That officer having arrived, formed his guard close to our door, and having called me out by my official name, he pulled two papers from his pocket, which he announced to me were his authorities for his present proceedings, as well as that they were separate orders for me to deliver up the book containing the signatures of parole from the Spanish officers who became prisoners at the capture of Buenos Ayres, by the English, signed by General Liniers, and the Governor of Cordova. He farther intimated a pledge "That it would be returned after it had been inspected by those individual heads." These two documents in the Spanish original are now in the transport-office. He added verbally "That if I did not surrender them readily, or peaceably allow him to search for them, he must use force to compel me." Thereply was instantaneous "That the book was not by me, that the key of my potak was in my waistcoat pocket, from whence it should not be transferred unless forced from it, and that I would consider him personally amenable for so constrained an act, upon some future

day." After a tedious discussion in the front of his guard, he took me aside to the gable end of our house, and addressed me in a half-wisper, " That seeing me absolutely resolved not to comply with his wishes, and being averse to extremities, as well as sensible that he must appear to execute his duty to the utmost before his own soldiers, who were spies upon his conduct, he earnestly requested me to permit only his feeling into my trunk, declaring on his honour, that he would not derange any of its contents, nor do more than merely to put his hand down into different parts of it; saying also that if he found it, he was bound to carry it off." The proposal was fair and candid, but under the circumstances detailed, an immediate expedient was necessary to avert so unpleasant a scrutiny. Lieutenants Pilcher, and Charles Forbes of the Royal Marines were standing by at the close of this interview, and after the interchange of a few significant hints with the latter, I was most happily relieved from the awkward dilemma, by a conveyance of the key of his potak, in the most ingenious manner, which trick was however noticed by our landlord, who was repressed with difficulty from divulging it. This unwelcome visitor then was allowed access to the linen and papers of my friend without reluctance, which he certainly rummaged in the way he had promised, after which he begged me to bear testimony of his having faithfully performed his mission, by letters to each of those supreme authorities,

who had employed him in it. Accordingly the following one was addressed by me to General Liniers upon the spur of the occasion; a counterpart of which Captain Martinez carried with him to the Governor of Cordova.

Vale of Calamacheyta, June 6th, 1807.

Sir,

"I have this morning been visited by a strong guard, headed by Captain Manuel Martinez, who has produced a paper, which I consider as a mandate for me to deliver up the records of parole from those Spanish officers who became prisoners of war to the British army, upon the conquest of Buenos Ayres, and he has verbally intimated "That if this shall not be complied with he is authorized to use force."

"My reply, sir, is, that I can neither recognize nor obey any order proceeding from the delegate of a government in hostility with mine, and that having anticipated the means within your power, together with the qualified facilities which you possess of executing them, I took early precautions to place those documents you are now so solicitous to obtain, in a state of security while I had the ability of

doing so. Should his Britannic Majesty's ship Diadem ever fall into your hands, perhaps you may find them there.

"The officer whom you have appointed to this unpleasant duty, has certainly fulfilled it well, by his having ransacked my trunk; backed by a force which I am unable to resist, at the same time he has conducted himself with much personal civility. I cannot therefore withhold from him my commendation of his zeal in the discharge of a service, doubtless most repugnant to his own feelings, but imposed on him by you, and others, his superiors.

"I am loth, sir, to close this correspondence without commenting upon the object, as well as the unprecedented mode of your procedure. I am very well aware, that in the present state of this country, the restoration of her best officers to effective use would be to you, and to your government, a most important attainment, and that if those written obligations which identify, and now bind them to their neutrality had been lost, or if at present they were disgracefully surrendered by me into your hands, they would be cancelled for ever. I must remark too, that as a prisoner, I am under your protection, and that of your laws, so long as I demean myself well, and while I consider the step you have now taken to have compleatly released me from every tie of parole on my own part, I fear that it may also lead to the establishment of a precedent

for a more serious, and extensive retaliation upon some future day.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, with due respect,

Your most obedient, and humble servant,

ALEX. GILLESPIE.

Captain Royal Marines, and Commissary for prisoners of war.

His Excellency General Liniers, &c. Buenos Ayres.

The moment after the guard disappeared from the hills before us, Mr. Pilcher and myself buried the book close to a small stream a little way from our house, in order to prevent the success of a similar recurrence, as well as to render all information that might be transmitted by our landlord to his government, compleatly abortive. It remained in the same grave until we were ordered back to St. Ignatius, which was only a few weeks subsequent to that circumstance, and it finally accompanied me to England, after our release from captivity.

This seemingly trifling incident, might under an opposite result, have involved many respectable families at Buenos Ayres in proscription, calamity, and ruin. It has already been noticed that a partial, and a secret pledge of allegiance to our government had been voluntarily entered into, and signed by some of the leading inhabitants of the city, during the time we held it. Those tests were regis-

tered officially under a separate head, but in the same book with the paroles of the Spanish officers, so that if it had fallen into public hands, those men would have incurred, at the least, a confiscation of their property, a banishment from their country, and most probably, when reviewing the ferment of those times, the massacre of their children by an unbridled mob. Under so serious a pre-possession, I was impelled by every motive of humanity for those devoted individuals, and of high duty to my country, to shield those zealous civilians in our cause, from such an inevitable catastrophe, and to disable those soldiers, bound only by their signatures, from unsheathing their swords against us.

The arrival of General Whitelocke's army at Monte Video, was no sooner understood at Buenos Ayres, than it produced an immediate change in our situation, for all officers who had hitherto resided at detached places in the country, were then concentrated at St. Ignatius and S^t. Rosa, previous to the removal of the whole to the upper provinces, in the event of disasters. Accordingly, the necessary number of mules was brought to transport ourselves, and our luggage thither, at the end of June. It seemed as if by design, that the most unruly of that animal tribe had been selected for the purpose, because none of them could have been trained to carry a burden, for after having been loaded, and put in motion the whole cavalcade set off in various directions along the hills, kicking, and dis-

engaging themselves from their respective incumbrances, while the drivers were highly amused to see the destructive scene, which no doubt in the end afforded them a plentiful harvest. After some losses, heavy to us at the moment, we again reached our destined spot, and all were huddled together as well as they could, during the remainder of their stay.

Our necessities had again become urgent, and as General Beresford had not issued any bat and forage money to the army before his departure, that resource was deemed the most eligible fund from which they could be relieved. Adopting this expedient, bills were drawn out by Mr. Hill, the Deputy Commissary General, and sanctioned by the commanding officer, which were discounted by a countryman of our own, who had abundance of money, at the enormous rate of seven shillings per dollar. Upon our return however to Monte Video, the circumstance underwent a retrospect, when our banker was directed to refund the excess of his charge, beyond what guided the current exchange of that place, at the time.

Our daily excursions from St. Ignatius, were now limited to a few miles into the plain, or to a short distance amongst the mountains facing the college, and those opposite to St. Rosa. Although there are only two mines of gold, one of silver, two of copper, and a like number of lead, reputed to exist in the whole province of Tucuman, in which those

mentioned places are situated, yet we may confidently assert, that rich fossils of both gold and copper, are contained within the bowels of those heights we occasionally traversed, from the fine specimens of the former, that were found upon their surface near to S^t. Rosa, large specks of which were comprized in pieces of a blue argillaceous stone resembling coarse marble. I brought a few of those to England, as presents to friends. That copper may be dug from the high grounds of St. Ignatius in large quantities, is not only evidenced from the rude pieces of the metal that are every where scattered upon the exterior, but by the smelting furnaces built in the vale immediately below, by the jesuit missionaries, for extracting the ore. As those parts are comprehended within the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres, their value must soon be ascertained by that now independent republic, in the course of scientific surveys. Upon the subject of their mines, the Spaniards were equally reserved as in politics, and even the few atoms that were collected, having been perhaps imprudently shewn them, raised some jealousy and uneasiness. Meeting one day rather an intelligent Creole, who was less guarded than his cautious masters, when riding in the neighbourhood of S^t. Rosa, I started the probability of such hidden wealth being deposited so close to him, and my surprise that no attempt should have been made to realize it. He admitted the justice of the surmise, and remarked, that it had been in

contemplation of the crown to have explored for it about eighteen years before, by means of some foreign mineralogists, who had gone to the Upper Country on a similar errand, but whose conduct while there, had rendered them objects of suspicion to the government, and from their heretical tenets, they had become obnoxious to the people, insomuch, that they were at last expelled from the continent. The observation obviously alluded to Mr. Helmes, and his German companions, who had emigrated to South America in the service of Spain about that time, in the pursuit he mentioned, and whose ultimate fate it was, to have been driven from its soil, with an hostility, little less inveterate in its spirit, than if they had been invaders.

Along the valley, for an extent of twelve miles both east and west, there is a considerable population, in small detached villages, a portion of which are petty farmers, shoemakers, and weavers. Indeed the habits of industry are preceptible in every cottage, which is chiefly exercised in the manufacture of coarse ponchos, that are disposed of amongst the peons in the plain, as well as to those in the lower parts, at the medium price of a dollar. So far as I saw, they are universally worn by the lower orders, and they answer the general purposes of clothing through the day, and covering during the bitterest nights. It is of worsted, its form is oblong, there is a hole worked in the center, through which the head is passed, hangs at the sides down to the

wrists, and both before and behind rather below the calf of the leg. It sits upon a square well-proportioned man, with a peculiar grace. The colours most preferred, are small black and white patterns, or large red and white bars, at right angles, but the vagrant equestrians regard the former on account of their concealing the spots. I have one of them now by me of that description, another of a middling quality, of mixed silk and cotton, with red and yellow stripes, and on coming to England in 1808, I sent a third that was fabricated in Chili, to a particular friend, which cost fifty dollars, was composed of both materials, and its red, light blue dyes, blended with white, were most exquisite and beautiful. Cordova too yields many of a better kind, but Chili possessing the finer materials, can supply them at almost any price.

The huts in those little villages, are rather better than those in the other places we visited, although a compound of very short cut straw, and clay, indurated and blanched by the sun. Their roofs are thatched by the long rushy grass, the indigenous growth about them, and for one with a wooden door, there are twenty made from hides well stretched and dried, fastened occasionally by a nail, or stick, outside and in. Amongst their furniture of luxury, beds were very rare, and the substitutes are hides sewed closely together, when one will not suffice, well stretched, and then dried, which are fastened to four sticks, and from these the hammock is suspended. This con-

trivance must have been of very early origin in that country, and most likely the pattern may have found its way to Europe, and have suggested a similar adoption in our ships at sea, for the name that has been immemorially stamped on it in South America is, "hamac." Those who can afford them have strong bedsteads, with bottoms from the bullock's skin, and the same material serves for those of their chairs and stools, but in general the seats of the poorer order are the skeletons of the largest heads of their oxen. Unless in winter, their cookery is performed out of doors, in which season a fire for the purpose is lighted immediately under the chimney. Every hutholder seemed to have an interest in the numerous flocks of sheep, and any one would have undertaken to contract with us for the number wanted. The carcase of each in the vale, before our arrival, fetched no price, and the inhabitants seemed every where to dislike the meat, but they soon after raised their value from two to six reals for one. From the long line of small villages beside the river St. Ignatius, the division of property, and the social order, together with the habits of industry that are conspicuous amongst them all, I am led to conclude, that the rites and duties of marriage are more regularly performed, and better understood, than in any other districts we had hitherto traversed. There is but one stamp of character upon the whole band of mounted vagrants; which is, that they exist on rapine, never form any

matrimonial connexions, nor can they ever be traced out to possess any fixed abode, where they may occasionally rest from their labours. Wherever a chapel stands, and that there are dram-shops near it, the whole body convene upon Sundays, as if by general consent, and there pass the day, as has been before described. It is only upon such occasions, that any estimate of their numbers can be formed. Owing to the rocky and uneven ground, by which that country is varied, the use of the lasso is seldomer resorted to than in the plains, although those itinerants have constantly one affixed to the saddle, just above where the crupper passes, by a strong piece of leather capable of bearing any strain, and the rope itself is always coiled to the left side of it, when the rider is not in pursuit of his prey. When an animal has been marked out for destruction, he unloosens it, and carries it in the same form in the left hand, while he guides the ardency of the horse with a single finger at full speed, and on approaching the victim almost to its utmost range, he begins with the right arm to swing it round the head, and when near enough he infallibly catches him round one, or both horns, or the neck, by the end noose. The entire process has been already mentioned. This lasso which is fixed, differs entirely from that employed against the horses, it being missile, and having three balls at the extremity, but no noose. The Pampas Indians, living chiefly by the sports of the field, are more expert

than any of the other natives in this instrument, which is made for their own occasions, of thongs cut round from a bullock's hide, of a good breadth, that twists close by drying, and is rendered supple by tallow, and the noose end is an iron ring, well lined with skin and small cord, through which the other end is put. The lassoes that are brought by those people for traffic, are of four narrow plaits, neatly twisted together, and although not more than an inch in thickness, they will bear off any weight which a strong horse is capable of pulling. The ring at the end assists to give an undeviating direction to the line of rope. The aim is certain when the object is about thirty yards off, being the utmost extent of it, but within it, the thrower does not feel confidence.

While we were assembled at our Saturday's club on the evening of the 31st of July, our landlord at the college, Don Ortiz, peeped his head into the door, and then entered into the room with one of his sons, and the captain of the guard, scarcely able to announce to us the glad tidings of our immediate return to Buenos Ayres, our release from captivity, and our embarkation for England. From the many illusive reports that had been in circulation of the operations below, and a self-consciousness of the little trust we placed in any of his assertions, he at this time assumed a grave and solemn aspect in support of his veracity, when he proclaimed to us all, with thumb and finger on the mouth, being the sacred emblem

of an oath upon the cross, the unexpected, and joyful news. The whole of us instantly with one accord arose, and with melody in our hearts, sang God save the king. The feelings of the pardoned criminal fell far short of ours, for they were not alloyed by restless remorse; nor can the delight of him, already doomed to perpetual exile by the injured laws of his country, but who has been suddenly forgiven and recalled to it, by the voice of mercy, be compared to that which at the moment burst upon us, for we were not to return to become the contempt of our friends, or still to be forever considered by society, in the catalogue of the guilty. All now looked forward to a better and a happier portion. Instead of languishing under the equator's heat, our fixed destination, we were soon to revisit our hale native climate, in place of being thrown amongst strangers and tyrannical masters, we exulted in the pleasing forethought of a speedy reunion with those nearest connexions and relatives to whom some amongst us had bidden an everlasting farewell, in the hour of despondency, and we had just cause to anticipate the triumph of a favourable reception from our nation, and our professions, whose honours had not been tarnished in our hands. These were the mingled sensations that rushed upon the mind.

As our enlargement was beyond a doubt, and the day named for our departure, the officers with their domestics were divided again into separate messes, and being informed

that the journey might lay in a direction where few supplies of water could be procured, some equipments became necessary to supply so serious a want. It was represented too, that our progress would be as rapid as possible, and that as we would all along be exposed to the inclemencies of the nights in the open fields, some additional covering would be required. In this prospect, our society entered into a subscription for the purchase of a large cask, which was hung from the end of our waggon, and twenty-six ponchos, that were so arranged upon tent-poles, as to roll up, and to form our encamped retreat every evening. Ox hides and sheep skins laid on the ground, were our mattresses, and with the addition of our saddles, were also our pillows. The weather at the close of July, and beginning of August, was very chilly, and throughout our journey was uniformly of a frosty cold.

CHAPTER XV.

IT was not until the second of August we ascertained the real state of matters at Buenos Ayres, which convinced us of the mortifying expence at which our freedom had been purchased. The unpresuming modesty of the enemy upon an event so signal to the glory of their arms, and so complete in its results, was astonishing. A Spanish officer arrived at the college upon that day, who gave us a gazette giving a very correct account of every thing, who also informed us, that the waggons for our accommodation would be at St. Ignatius on the 4th, and that we should start upon the 6th. Our landlord had public orders to supply us with every necessary in his power at their expence, and at nine in the morning of the latter day, the whole body set out, keeping close to the river near to the college, until two p. m. when we once more crossed the Rio Grande, which we now found discharged itself into the Tercero, sixty yards below, and at four rested for the night. As many remarks cannot be expected from a retrograde movement over the same country, my diary therefore must now be limited to little more than the compass bearings of our progress from day to day ; interspersed with such notations as may suggest themselves on the way.

We recommenced our journey at six on the morning of the 7th, proceeding a league in a direction of E. S. E. and then East until we reached the Condores at three p. m. and having refreshed, we renewed our course, keeping N. N. E. the whole way, when we arrived at Salta, a very little village distant twelve leagues from St. Ignatius. There were now few restraints imposed upon any of the officers advancing before, in our line of movements. It was only necessary to signify their intentions beforehand to the commandant of the guard, who frequently accompanied them in their frolics. The general aspect of the country has been detailed. The whole of the 8th of August was in a continued course of E. by S.—the river Tercero running close to the road during the whole way, and we halted for the night near to a house named Catalina Rosas, after having performed a distance of only three leagues, and on the 9th stopped at Capello Rodriguez after completing four.

Starting at seven upon the 10th, we travelled until twelve, and having remained till three near to a beautiful lake of great extent, we soon after entered into a delightful valley, when we changed our course from E. S. E. to E. by S. and having nearly attained its extremity, the road gradually deviated to E. S. E. which led us to a pleasant flat, nine leagues from Capello Rodriguez, where we slept. Large forests of wood were interspersed through the whole of this day's progress, and the nights were so intensely cold, as to create

a hard ice upon our water-jugs standing by us, while the days were sultry from the power of the sun, from eight to five.

Our little encampments were formed every evening on the ground, in a regular order, and as our dogs had forsaken us, no sport occurred, for none was necessary to amuse the mind already enjoying the pleasing forethoughts of home. The cattle were yoked at dawn of the 11th, and our way varied from E.S.E. to East, until we arrived at the post-house of Paso Farrera, which lies to the northward of the high-road from Cordova to Buenos Ayres, and stands nine leagues from the valley we had left. It is to be remarked generally, that those places, planted at relative distances for general accommodation, have nothing of interest, as they consist of buildings of one story high, with a large kitchen in one end, having a spirit and grocery shop in which the lower orders of travellers sit, and in the other, a disordered sitting-room for the better ranks. They supply bread, *su-pisada*, a sort of dried sausage, composed of pork cut small, stuffed with garlic, eggs, and the wines of St. Juan and Mendoza—besides cheese of an inferior kind, at a very moderate rate. Adjoining to all of them is a large coral, to serve as a relay for horses; and slaves, or peons are constantly in attendance, to bring them out when wanted. Saddles and every equipage for the road, are always in readiness to expedite public dispatches, and the individual who is in haste, may be assured of an immediate supply. Wherever we

touched on the high-road, we never failed to notice some covered carts from the Upper Country, who seemed to push on rapidly, as we were informed, towards Monte Video, in order that their owners might provide themselves with the English goods that had been brought thither by our commercial adventurers, but as they were at the time illicit, the real destination of these carriages, were covered by a fictitious one of their being bound for Buenos Ayres.

Our course during the 12th was E. by S. and we remained through the night, near to another post-house of a similar description, but whose name I could not learn, three leagues from that of Paso Ferreira, and at twelve on the noon of the 13th, we arrived at Esquina Balestera at the same distance from the last, and proceeding onwards gained the post of Marian Lopez, fifteen miles farther, from whence we again set out at seven p. m. and at eleven halted in the plains through the night, having kept a course of S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. through the day. . We met at different times during our stoppages, French officers who were on their way downwards, some of whom were suspected to have been civilians in a military dress, and the nature of their mission was equally liable to doubt. The country had assumed its wonted plenty, and herds of cattle and horses, again covered the plains. The post-house of Lopez had a few huts adjoining to it, inhabited by Creoles, in an open space. Upon the 14th of August, we arrived at

Frailen Muerto, nine miles distant, and on the following day, after having passed the post-house of Zarjon, four leagues from the last, and having gone S. S. E. we stopped in the fields at nine, p. m. after varying our direction to E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. during the last two—the woods being seen in every quarter. Set off early on the 16th, and got to Saladillo which is seven league from Zarjon, having steered S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and recommencing at ten next day, shaped two miles S. by E. and then crossed a small salt river, which empties itself into the Tercero, after which our progress was E. by N. when towards the close of the day, it turned to E. by S. We rested four leagues from Saladillo, and now lost sight of the immense forests. On the 18th, our line was E. S. E. and we arrived at Cabeza del Tygere, after a travel of twelve miles. Our way fluctuated from E. S. E. to S. by W. through the 19th of August, and at night we got to Cruz-alto, near seven leagues from del Tygere.

Lieutenant Roy and myself set out early for Salto de Areco with a soldier, to bid farewell to those friends who had been kind to us, we changing our horses upon the road, and after having passed the night with the commandant of the guardia there, who kept a dram-shop, and entertained us well, but who did not forget to charge us for our liquors, we rejoined the waggons at the post-house of Nicholas Gatega, in the plains of Areco. Our companions while we were absent, had touched at

Esquina, three leagues from Cruz-alto, having gone in an E.S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. course, and their line had been close to the Tercero, and we found in our own way, that the rivers and waters were saltish. We likewise passed a tree within three miles from Saladillo, which stands alone upon the south side of the road, and is remarkable for being the specific boundary between the provinces of Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres.

Upon the 21st we reached a small post-house, nine leagues from Esquina, our course during the day, having varied from E. by N. to E. N. E. and having observed a number of small cataracts, in the Tercero river, which was close to us during our progress. Having taken an early departure upon the 22nd, we completed ten leagues at midnight, when we halted. We proceeded with little deviation, in the due direction of East, and remarked in the afternoon, that the Tercero took a sudden turn to the northward, and after winding a few miles, we ascertained that it fell into the Parana, a small distance above St. Nicolas. Having repeatedly visited different post-houses upon the road, we found that the observations already advanced are alike applicable to them. Upon the following day we reached the post-house of Areco de Barbon, after a fluctuating course throughout, from E. by N. to E. by S. and gained a distance of five leagues. We at times only kept the main road, as we chiefly traversed through unbeaten paths, and striking occasionally aside to procure refreshments. When stopping at any

house in our way, both up and down, we learnt from repeated experience, and I now adduce it as a lesson to the traveller in that country, that it was a necessary precaution always upon alighting, to take off our stirrups and leathers, for there are constantly and every where, fellows on the watch, whom you perhaps may not see, who will cut them off, and having once lost them, they never can be recovered. The only substitute to be had, under such a contingency, and at the places mentioned, is the wooden stirrup, into which an Englishman could not thrust the point of his boot, and he would invariably find himself knocked up at the end of a stage, if he had no better remedy.

The 24th of August we completed a distance of six leagues, and at seven in the evening reached the post-house of Aropavo, where there runs a small rapid river, having gone with a variation from East to E. S. E. through the day, and on the succeeding one, arrived at that of Medio Aroco, after having made eighteen miles progress, and having steered S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. from which we attained the stage of Don Manuel Serveduro, five leagues onwards, and all along in a S. E. course.

Leaving the last on the morning of the 26th, we this day went no farther than that of Puente Suelta, which is twelve miles in a S. S. E. direction from the last one.

On the 27th of August our advance was slow, inclining at one hour to the S. S. E. and another to the E. S. E. and being impeded during the forenoons by three small rivulets,

which always occupy much time in passing, owing to the slow movements of the waggon drivers, although the whole of them joined in assisting each separate team. We this day went close to a respectable estancia, named the Bourbon, and through a mean little village called Arecifa, and having altered our bearings at three p. m. to S. by E. we in an hour after crossed a river of the same title, which rises a considerable way within the Pampas country, and after running N. N. E. it discharges into the Parana a little below St. Nicolas. As only half of our carts were enabled to get over it before dark, both halted for the night upon its bank, after having attained five leagues in advance from Puento Suelto. Here the post-road from Arecifa proceeds, E. S. E. and there is a relay-house six miles off, besides a seemingly well-frequented path to the right.

It was late at noon of the 28th, before the remainder of the carriages had cleared the river, after which we inclined E. N. E. until we came into the main road, when we resumed an E. S. E. course, and from the delays that had recently occurred, we proceeded no farther than the post-house mentioned in the diary of yesterday, and the following day accomplished four leagues from it, when the whole halted; having gone throughout towards the South-east.

On the 30th of August we proceeded E. S. E. until we touched at the post-house of St. Antonio, and in the evening reached another,

which stands within a league South of the village of Capello del Senor, after having gained seven during the day.

Setting out early upon the 31st, we steered E. by S. and got to Luxan at six in the evening, which we left upon the 1st of September, pointing E. N. E. for three miles, when changing to due East, we reached the huts at Conchos, which is a distance of eight leagues from that village.

Moving onwards upon the 2nd from that resting-spot, we shaped towards the E. S. E. along the high-road, and at eleven at noon, came to a post-house, when verging to E. N. E. very gradually, we arrived at another within two leagues of Buenos Ayres, and bending our way early in the morning of the 3rd in the same direction, we entered the capital at three p. m. after having maintained a straight line, by the street which runs along the northern side of the Cabildo, being nine leagues from the bridge of the Conchos.

As for myself and a few others, we passed on to the cliffs of the Retiro, at a small distance from the Plata, in order to observe the improvements that had taken place in that admirable defensive position, as well as to avoid the popular bustle to be expected upon such an occasion. The change was most striking indeed to the eye, for instead of a bare flat, and rugged heights adjoining to it, there stood a fortress faced with stone, and having a sally-port, from whence there issued about a dozen fellows, who had deserted from us while

we possessed the city and afterwards. Instead of offering us their congratulations, which would have been only generous and manly, in this moment of exultation, they poured upon us abuse, and ribaldry, in which the Spaniards themselves scorned to join, and I subsequently learnt with regret, that some of those dastardly traitors to their king, and revolters from their columns, in the hour of danger, tired of that service, and under a bitter remorse from their perfidious conduct, had abandoned that cause also, and by finding their way back to their native country, where they covered their disgraceful history so artfully, as to receive their unclaimed shares of prize-money, for Buenos Ayres, and other captures.

Every officer having entered the city on horseback, and the animal with his trappings being his personal property, it was necessary to convert both into cash, but there were few purchasers, because the gentry have too much pride to be seen upon one of an ordinary description, and ours were of the most haggard kind. Those having speed as pacers, are in great repute, and combining this quality with shew, they will fetch a very high price in the capital, notwithstanding their abundance in the interior. This partiality also rules the market at the Cape of Good Hope, where a horse with this steady step, will nearly double the amount of his ordinary value. They are broke in to it very early in South America, by their never being permitted to gallop, which is the common rate of travelling, commencing

with a walk, and by giving the full range gradually to the power and spirit of the brute, at that pace, until it becomes habitual and easy. It is both a quick, and lengthened movement, for without intermission, he raises the fore and hind feet, always placing the last much beyond the spot from which the first had been removed, thereby doubling, or more, the rapidity of his progress, while the rider sits as tranquil as in an arm chair.

Every thing was bustle in the city during the short time we remained in it, and each officer was left to his own free will in what manner he could best feel his way down to Monte Video, as there were no means of transportation provided either by our own, or the Spanish government. Some who had brought down with them little memorials for their friends at home, such as the small dogs of the country without hair, and a few parrots, were forcibly deprived of them by a rude and indisciplined soldiery, and the maddened phrenzy of the populace portended little security to these Englishmen who might be inclined to prolong their stay.

As for myself, I had not been two hours in Buenos Ayres, when I was visited by two young gentlemen, sons of Signior Terrada, whose kind hospitality I had experienced before our departure into the interior, who insisted on my accompanying them and making their house my home, while I remained, and they very considerably brought a domestic to bear my luggage, which they were

surprized to find, was reduced to a hand parcel. The reception from that family was welcome and liberal, and I was happy to learn that the whole were safe and in health, although three of them had served in the various conflicts that had recently taken place, in defence of their city. The expressions of gratitude for British generosity were made by both parents upon my entering into the house, when they intimated that my conductors had been taken prisoners, by Sir Samuel Achmuty on his storming the Retiro, and that the treatment they had received while they were in that unfortunate situation, was noble and humane. I can attest the tender delicacy shewn by every member of their household, and I have reason to think that it was uniformly the same in every other, by none of them even hinting at the disastrous events which had so lately befallen our army, in which young soldiers might have been prone to exult, nor was a single topic proposed by them, but a few general enquiries concerning the past, the repetition of some stories, and the urging of a disclosure, in what way they could provide for my personal comforts through the voyage to Europe, by money, cloathing, or necessaries.

As to the public, the Crown of Spain was some months in arrears to every one of us, and as no offer of any adjustment was tendered to us, we had now neither time nor inclination to submit our claims.

Having continued at the house of my friend

during the night of the 3rd of September, and till after dinner upon the following day, I wished every inmate all the blessings of the world, and went down to the pier with a slave, who was commissioned to assist me in procuring a boat to carry me off to some vessels then under weigh in the offing, and it was after much trouble I hired the launch of an American brig, which was bound direct for Monte Video, whose mate in the name of his master agreed to take me as a passenger for fourteen dollars.

The whole line of the pier-head was beset with thousands of an unruly mob, the greater part of whom were intoxicated. They with some disorderly Catalans, and native soldiers, seemed to dictate the law, and to act without controul either from the police, or their officers.

Soon after getting on board of the American brig, an English gun vessel hove in sight, which we followed, and proved to be the Encounter, Lieutenant Talbot, then cruizing in the river. She was the same vessel in which I had entered it, and I now once more took my departure in her.

We arrived at Monte Video upon the 6th of September, where all was in a state of confusion, owing to a recent order that had been issued for the re-embarkation of the English merchants and their goods, which was most unfortunately premature, for even until the last, adventurers were hurrying down from the Upper Country to have made their purchases, as the whole of the interior was in

the utmost want of European manufactures, from the long suspension of all commercial intercourse with it. As we were all in a destitute situation with respect to money, and cloaths, General Whitelocke humanely gave directions for an immediate payment of bat and forage money to us, and as has been already hinted at, called upon the gentleman who had discounted our public bills for a similar allowance, at a former period, to refund the enormous premium he had imposed upon our temporary necessities when in the Upper Country.

Those combined items ensured our personal comforts upon the voyage, so far as cash could afford them, but there being a total cessation from business, and empty markets during the day, we had little opportunity to replenish our stock of covering, against the dead of winter in our northern latitudes, or to provide the supplies that were required for a tedious and cold passage.

The officers and men belonging to the army, were distributed amongst the transport vessels, and the prisoners of both classes attached to the navy, were ordered on board of the ships of war. As for myself I was nominated for the *Daphne* frigate, which watered about eleven miles above Monte Video, but a great part of it proved brakish owing to a prevalent South-easterly wind which hurled in the water from the sea.

Being in want of a friend during the day of the 6th in a strange place, I met Mr. White, whom I expected to have found one,

both as an old acquaintance at Buenos Ayres, as well as from his having acted in the character of a Commissary for provisions, and joint agent after its capture, but that American gentleman thought it most political at the time to recognise neither. He had filled these situations, although a foreigner, and a stranger to us all, through the influence of Sir Home Popham, with whom an intimacy had been contracted in the East Indies, while that officer was in command of the *Romney*. Going to a coffee-house where a table d'hôte was kept, I met a very mixed company of all nations, and there dined for a dollar. Repairing on board the appointed ship in the evening a few of us relanded before day light of the 7th of September, to buy stock in the market-place, as the British were to be replaced by the Spanish colours that afternoon, upon the citadel and ramparts.

The populace were inclined to be insolent, and were only kept within bounds by the presence of our soldiery, who were marched down to their respective boats from morning until past mid-day, but without music, for it could produce no cadence either in their steps or hearts.

Whatever might have been the vulgar prejudices that existed against our nation, still the following testimonial spontaneously tendered to Colonel Gore Brown, who was military Commandant in Monte Video, before, and on the day of its evacuation by the English army, will afford an evidence of respect not more

honourable to himself, than to his country, and his profession.

Copy of a letter addressed to Colonel Gore Brown of the 40th regiment, military commandant of the British garrison, in Monte Video, &c.

To the Commandant Colonel Gore Brown,

"Capitular Hall, Monte Video, August 27th, 1806.

"The moment is approaching, in which the armies of his Britannic Majesty must evacuate this place, and you, Sir, being on the eve of departure, this Cabildo is anxious to testify the joy inspired by a prospect of the former event, and the regret that is occasioned by the latter. Yes, Sir, this City which ever was, and ever will be faithful to her monarch, under whose mild and pacific government her inhabitants were born, feels the most entire satisfaction at seeing herself restored to it, and that the arms which disturbed her peace and tranquillity, and which doomed to death so many of her most valuable citizens, are about to remove. You, Sir, may well suppose, that although there were no other reason, this would be sufficient to make us long with eagerness for the departure of those instruments which have caused to us so many evils. But at the same time, what reason can we have for not confessing to, and thanking you Sir, and his excellency Sir Samuel Achmuty, the commander in chief, for your exertions in

endeavouring to remedy them, so far as it lay in your power! This Cabildo would be ungrateful were they not to make public the brilliant virtues of both chiefs. You, Sir, entered this city with the general command of the troops. At that moment the Cabildo which was assembled in this Capitular Hall, was preserved from that death with which all were threatened from the fury of the soldiers, by the great exertions of an amiable officer who fortunately entered,—was preserved by you. You, Sir, received from our own hands the sword and insignia of justice, but returning them immediately into our possession directed that we should retire to our Hall; placing a respectable guard in order that we might be secure from the smallest insult.

“The victorious troops thinking themselves possessed of a right to the property of the citizens, began some of them to plunder. But what, Sir, except your rectitude and firmness could have been able to restrain so great a number of soldiers and marines, in the midst of a city whose inhabitants were just slain or wounded, prisoners, or fugitives? In effect this place was deserted two hours after the assault. A profound silence reigned in all the streets, not a soul was seen, save alone the scattered bodies of the dead and wounded, with their arms. You, Sir, yourself seemed to have been struck with consternation, for you permitted not the drum, or any instrument of martial music, nor the cannon to interrupt the melancholy silence of those first mournful

days.—But in vain was this city without inhabitants.—All their property and effects remained as secure, as if they themselves guarded them. Some trifling excess which was committed in the first moments of confusion, was publicly chastised upon the same day in the square, by a severe lashing, and it was alone at the entreaty of some of us, you, Sir, had the goodness to spare the lives of two who were condemned to die. Whatever thing, however small it might be, which was found in the possession of any soldier or sailor, was remitted to this Cabildo in order to its being restored to its owner if he should appear. Every family was respected, and the pride of victorious troops who had just conquered and entered through fire and blood, became tranquillized in an instant, and from that moment without occasioning the smallest disorder. In these sentiments of admiration and gratitude, we now bid you a farewell, and our earnest prayers for a prosperous voyage, and a happy restoration to your country, of which you are so bright an ornament, do most sincerely accompany you. May God preserve your Excellency many years.

Signed by the Members of the Cabildo, &c.

CHAPTER XVI.

MONTE VIDEO was abandoned before two in the afternoon of the 7th of September, the Spanish troops entered at three, amidst the acclamations of the people, and the evening was signalized by great rejoicing, which we could witness from our anchorage, as well as by a feu de joie from the citadel, Fort Joseph, and the lines of the garrison. Our armament took their leave upon the morning of the 11th of September, and the branch of it that was destined for the Cape of Good Hope separated from us on the same forenoon.

Our passage to the line was as favourable as could be wished, but the fleet was becalmed many days after crossing it. The whole arrived in the chops of the English channel at the close of November, where they had to contend with strong and tedious gales from the Eastward, upwards of a fortnight, until many of the transports had not more than three days water at a reduced allowance. Indeed the squadron and convoy had been upon it during two thirds of the voyage, and as all of them had taken their water on board when in the river La Plata, several of the vessels when too late, found it also rather brackish, from which however no marked disorder was experienced. As the fresh supplies

we could obtain at Monte Video, were very inadequate for so protracted a passage, we had early recourse to the beef cured in South America for the gun-room mess of the *Daphne*, but owing to the nature of food to which the cattle had been accustomed, it soon became so hard, and void of sustenance, that hunger itself could not be induced to relish it, and prudence forbade the use of it, as being only an incentive to thirst. At last in the midst of a thick fog, the armament most opportunely made the opening into Cork harbour upon the forenoon of the 17th of December, and the whole fleet happily entered in the course of the day. Abundance now gave us cause to rejoice, and Irish hospitalities were not confined to their old friends alone, but they were likewise most liberally extended to many of us who were entire strangers.

The troops were disembarked, and immediately were marched into different cantonments, while the ships of war, according to their state of equipment found their way to England, whither the *Daphne* soon repaired, and arrived at Portsmouth at the close of December.

Having left South America almost destitute of covering, I had purchased while in Ireland a quantity of linen for shirting, and to guard against its seizure, as well as the possibility of a personal detention at that seaport, it was cut out ready for the needle, and placed in a trunk, with various other articles, none of

which were contraband. It was landed safely, and deposited in a lodging, but being most anxious to leave the place without delay, it was removed to a waggon office, which took in goods for London, in order to its being immediately forwarded, but a custom-house officer stopped it in the street, and in the proper discharge of his duty carried it to the custom-house for examination. On being informed of the circumstance, I went thither, and producing the key begged that the strictest scrutiny might be made into its contents, none of which were exceptionable, but was surprised to learn that it could not be restored without a breach of regulations, until an order for its release should come down from the Lords of the Treasury. On farther reference to Mr. Arnand, the head of that department, whose official attention and civility are well known, he confirmed the prohibition for the reasons stated. I waited in patience, but at great expence, during several posts, until tired out, I thought proper to represent my case to their lordships by letter, which was every day, after an interval of four, repeated, until a favourable answer reached me, certainly of the most handsome tenor, but it was unaccompanied by any refund of the charges I had thus unnecessarily incurred, or by the slightest reprimand to this agent of the revenue whose conduct had been so litigious and extravagant. I mention this fact merely that it may operate for the benefit of others, under a like situation, from being liable to such

subordinate vexations, by an order for their prevention.

Scarcely two years and a half had elapsed from our arrival in England, when the flames of a revolution, which will form the final topic of the present volume, broke out in these provinces of South America we had so recently left, and it was in contemplation of its future results upon the political, as well as the commercial interests of my country, I was influenced to address the Right Honourable Mr. Perceval, who then presided over her councils, upon the subject of my being the depository of a record of perhaps useful reference to his Majesty's government, as containing names who might one day appear conspicuous upon the annals of dynasty or war amongst the chequered events in those convulsed colonies.

Having received the signatures of fifty-eight respectable inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, expressive of their allegiance and attachment to the British Government, at a crisis of peculiar danger to themselves, and holding out no prospect of personal advantages, it was reasonable to conclude that they were the deeds of the heart, and that they proceeded from a confirmed esteem for the character of our nation. If then they dared to evince so marked a partiality for us, in such perilous times, their regard must be equally, if not more strongly manifested when they could offer it with safety.

These were the grounds on which I submitted my tender to the Minister, who condescended

to answer me three weeks after the 8th of August 1810, which was the date of my communication to him, and it was soon after followed by an order for me to lodge the instrument with the under secretary of the Foreign department, whose receipt is thus attested.

"Foreign Office, September 4th, 1810.

"Received this day, from the hands of Captain Alexander Gillespie, of the Royal Marines, a book, containing the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, signed at Buenos Ayres in the course of July 1806, by fifty-eight Inhabitants of that City, together with the Paroles of Spanish and Creole Officers of the Regular and Provincial army of Buenos Ayres, commencing the 1st of July 1806. The same to be deposited in the Foreign Office."

(Signed) W. Hamilton.

It was not long before I had the pleasure to remark that the anticipation I had conceived, became realized, for out of six members who constituted the first revolutionary junta of Buenos Ayres, three of them stood registered upon that list, and I doubt not when our national honour shall permit an unrestrained intercourse with those states, who seem now to have conquered freedom and independence, but that others upon it will be identified,

holding high places of trust under that rising republic, who from well-matured principles of affection for our islands, together with a sense of high duty towards their own commonwealth, will be ever ready to step forth as zealous organs and advocates to proclaim the mutual wishes, and to promote the reciprocal interests of Great Britain and La Plata.

My narrative now attains its natural termination, and it only remains for me to say that neither partiality nor prejudice has contaminated its details, when touching upon the actions of individuals, nor has a page been swelled out by the exaggerations of romance, or a deviation from veracity.

CONCLUSION.

WHEN we bid adieu to Buenos Ayres in 1807, Spain could not boast of more loyal subjects within her extensive realms, than those of every description in the provinces of La Plata. The narrow space of eleven months had exhibited their fidelity by two triumphs over a foreign invader, which covered them with glory, while they imperceptibly stamped a new character upon every class of their population.

They had slept for centuries in peace, and knew not the meaning of an enemy, saving from the tradition of former times, which informed them that their frontiers had once been exposed to the inroads of savage neighbours, the greater part of whom had since fallen sacrifices to their own vices, and that the remaining race were either kept in awe by a barrier-line of defence, or their tempers softened by the mild inducements of a reciprocal traffic.

As those South Americans had been thus long kept strangers to their own physical energies as men, until they were pushed into action by the fortuitous circumstances of the

years 1806 and 1807, so had their mental progress towards refinement been repressed for ages, by the arts of an ungenerous policy, until beyond those cotemporary periods.

The immense distance at which Buenos Ayres and her dependencies are placed from Europe, the prohibitory edicts, always strictly enforced, against their social and commercial intercourse with all other nations, the unnatural restraints that had been imposed upon seminaries of genius and the arts, the marked proscription of all agricultural pursuits, and in fine, the superstitious thralldom in which every order had been held by a designing priesthood, have combined together to stifle the risings of ambition, their desire of knowledge, and even to debase their natural intellects. Unlike to their northern brethren upon the same continent, who are planted upon a margin of the trading world, which self-interest, urgent wants, and constant opportunity can over-step at pleasure, all access to them could only be obtained by a tedious circuit, a perilous navigation, and through a host of jealous agents. To these leading causes may be ascribed the infant state of every attainment in the provinces of La Plata, when compared with those greater accomplishments which are to be found amongst their fellow-subjects touching upon the Caribbean sea, although both have been equally bound down by the same code of monopoly and constraint.

It is lamentable to remark, when we take a general retrospect of the many mortal, as well

as political changes that have occurred among the superior authorities, who have existed since the Spanish empire over those dominions, that we can number only four native Americans who have ever filled the Viceroy's chair out of a list of one hundred and sixty, and no more than fourteen who have been vested with the dignities of governors or captains general from a long roll of six hundred and two! However high the inborn talents of those citizens might have been, they have rarely been permitted a scope for display, and as the very clerks of departments were chiefly composed of Europeans, they were almost perpetually debarred from even an acquaintance with public occurrences, and what was still more harsh, from a tuition in the first rudiments of government. Thus secluded from all sources of improvement, the Creole sunk into that desponding languor as neither to spare a thought upon the degraded state of his country, nor upon his own insignificance as a member of it.

The only equivalent which the Buenos Ayreans could have drawn to compensate for this estrangement from mankind and science, was by the circulation of books and opinions; advantages long enjoyed by their friends in the northern extremities through the same illicit channels they had derived their foreign manufactures. But both of these had been shut out from them by the vigilant police of church and state, which allowed publicity to none that dared to inculcate any other dogmas but such as were congenial to their own. The press too

being under superior constraint, teemed with nothing but mutilated and fallacious details of public affairs, for it was inaccessible alike to the offerings of patriotism, as to the petitions of individual suffering.

Those parents of families who were endued with superior understandings, and with the means of fortune, most naturally felt for the future condition of their children in this land of ignorance, and were emulous to transplant them into another soil, where science was cultivated, and where the mind was encouraged to branch out into its most favourite directions. As France and Spain had long maintained a close alliance, and their religious creeds being assimilated, Paris consequently stood first in their estimation as a school, until that revolutionary æra which transfigured its natives into infidels towards their God, and into the enemies of mankind. But previous even to this transition into barbarity, those heads of families in South America were restrained from executing their amiable designs, by royal decree, which could only be overcome through influence, and it was too often the case, that by this permanent interdict they were compelled to consign those objects of their affectionate hopes, to languish out their days in useless sloth, and to finish them upon that bed of weeds.

Those laws of coercion that had struck so deeply into the vitals of commerce, served also to check the freedom of ideas amongst the interior dependencies of Buenos Ayres, as well as in the capital itself. The few strangers who

had been admitted to visit them, consisted chiefly of professionalists, who were solely intent on their own pursuits, and if chance ever threw in their way a man of talent, his communications were given at much risk, and his licensed continuance amongst them was too short to avail much. The majority of their foreign guests being masters of vessels employed in the slave-trade, it may be fairly presumed that their opinions were of a piece with their business.

Notwithstanding that one general system was framed for regulating the whole colonies of South America, still the geographic positions of some of them had effected a diversity in their refinement and manners, from the rest. An uninterrupted contraband intercourse from the mouths of the Orinoco upon the North Atlantic ocean, to the West of the gulph of Darien, not only reared a daring and hardy race of natives along the whole line of those coasts, but it also threw in occasionally the most intelligent individuals from every adjacent quarter, and along with them the various gazettes, with the enlightened writings of Europe and North America. Besides the adventurous population that are near to the sea, there are within, a numerous stock of smugglers and shepherds not less bold in their nature, whose practices and habits also conspire to render them fixed enemies to the government, and who are as ready to fight, as to trade in an illegitimate cause. Their licentious, and itinerant lives too, make them ob-

durate to the admonitions, or anathemas of the church. These local advantages and attainments naturally obtruded the thoughts of emancipation upon the northern continentalists, at an earlier period, than they were even contemplated by those in the depopulated and untutored regions of La Plata. They had been cherished by the provinces of Venezuela and Mexico twenty-two years ago, and a declaration to that extent was only stayed, by some unexpected contingencies. It might have been deduced however, that such a spirit, once conceived, would not have been easily smothered, but that it breathed in silence until a propitious hour for its reanimation, and it accordingly found a new birth out of the womb of European politics, in the treacherous invasion of Spain by Buonaparte; the vacillating councils of that unhappy kingdom, and the inability she at first evinced to protect even herself; far less to extend it to her remote dominions.

It would be foreign for me to enter into that wide field of incidents which has appeared upon the face of that revolution since 1810, for such a topic is as far removed as those settlements are from the boundaries of my present discussion. It is merely brought forward in context, to display the uniformity of feeling that pervaded every corner of South America, under their alleged grievances, which were counterparts in them all, and to exhibit the simultaneous efforts that followed an expression of them, as if they had been impelled by one

plan of combination, and had emanated throughout as if from one common centre of direction.

Cotemporary with the erection of Buenos Ayres, into a viceroyalty, in 1778, several edicts were issued very favourable to her commerce, which roused her industry, and from an experience of their wisdom by their results, a farther melioration was extended to her staple exports, with privileges on her imports, by progressive statutes in the years 1791 and 1793. The wars however in which the Mother Country was soon after involved, rendered those liberal indulgencies of short duration, and of little avail. Their native productions being mostly of a perishable kind, their immediate shipment was necessary, but owing to the inability of Spain to afford regular convoys, the merchant was compelled to the alternatives of consigning his goods to rot in warehouses, to commit them to the danger of the ocean, and the tenfold greater risk of capture, and if escaping both, to the certainty of very distant returns. Those grievous incumbrances upon their trade, counterbalanced greatly such parental concessions, in the general estimation, and the many misfortunes that attended their commercial intercourse, greatly impaired that respect for the power of their protectress which they had been taught to cherish; for the calamities that wound the interests of the most ignorant man, will not only obtrude a poignancy under their immediate effects, but will likewise enforce strong

reflections upon their cause. Such contemplations, grounded upon an obvious truth, of which they saw themselves the daily victims, wanted no organ, but only an occasion to express them, when they could do so beyond the privacy of public coercion. They were allowed a feeble vent while we possessed Buenos Ayres, and although such interpreters were few, and those extremely guarded, yet enough could be gathered from their breathings, that the mercantile classes in it, panted earnestly, not only for a change in their personal conditions, but still more for a revolution in the common dynasty of their country. The higher ranks in the church, from having been elevated by the crown, were strongly devoted to it, besides those Spanish expectants who were numerous, but almost the whole of the lower orders in it, were attached to the destinies of their native soil.

As Spain had long neglected to reinforce the military in those colonies from her own subjects, she had confided the duties most impolitically to South Americans, which may account for the relaxed discipline of those troops, both as to officers and men. Widely scattered over the Pampass frontiers in small bodies, and never regimented for exercise or combined evolution, they were strangers to obedience, and on the day of trial, they could be expected to act only as a rabble, without motive or object. This was the description of our opponents, when we disembarked upon the shores of La Plata, in 1806, to whom was joined a

heterogeneous mixture of mounted peons. — None of them having ever seen an enemy in the field, they were panic-struck at the outset, and carrying it along with them in their precipitate retreat, the city surrendered under a similar impression. While we held the place, they had time to pause, and to recover from it, and it was during that peaceful interval they first began to calculate upon the popular strength, and on the means of applying it. Every individual possessing either observation or feeling, was stung with shame when he ascertained the numbers by which his capital had been conquered, and each telling a tale to his comrade from wounded pride, one universal flame of revolt was kindled against us. The calamitous issue is well known, arising out of the inequality of the conflict, but the retrospect is adduced in circumstantial detail of the origin of that military bias which has since characterized, and has spread a new impulse of activity over all orders in those dependencies. Young soldiers are prone to exult in victory, without a consideration of its circumstances, or taking into their estimate the aggregate of foes over whom they have triumphed. The capture of General Beresford's little army, in the commencement of their career, produced the same effects upon the general feeling, as if it had been the most brilliant achievement. The events of the 12th of August first gave rise to a standing army in the provinces of La Plata, and those of July

1807, fostered still more the martial spirit by giving to it a reputation.

Public economy, and the immemorial system of a government which had ever ruled with a suspicious jealousy, might have been supposed, after every danger had ceased, to have suggested the disbandment of so many natives in arms, but no reduction followed, and General Liniers who had commanded them with reiterated fortune in war, was continued at their head after peace. In testimony of the popular gratitude, he was successively called to be governor of Buenos Ayres; and at last to fill the viceroy's chair, vacated by the dethronement of the Marquis Sobramonte, which was the highest dignity in their power to bestow. The crowded successes that had accompanied him, were erroneously imputed to his talents and firmness, but in reality he possessed neither. Since landing in South America as an emigrant from the naval service of France, and a refugee from her convulsions, his habits had been depraved, and his associates low, and having a natural genius for political intrigue, he exercised it amongst the lower orders of the capital, as well as through some of his national accomplices, in the interior. Although now an officer in the service of Spain, he was in every sinew, and at heart, a Gaul. He possessed a great portion of cunning, which when applied to a man of rank, is too often construed into address, and his plans were never deranged by the compunctions of principle.

At the close of 1807, the inhabitants of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, were enthusiastically attached to their sovereign, and every recollection of grievances was drowned amidst the shouts of victory. Her armies suddenly incorporated for self-defence, at that time recognized no other object, and although a separation from the Mother State might have been cherished by many as a secret wish, still the plots of revolution were contemplated by none as a design. Notwithstanding the insinuations practised by hosts of active emissaries thrown out into every quarter, yet their loyalty rebuffed every art, and nowhere upon the earth, were the enormities of France viewed with greater horror, than by those South Americans.

The treacherous invasion of Spain by Buonaparte, and the degradation of her monarchs, were no sooner published, than one universal sentiment of indignation at the deed, and of generous sympathy for the royal sufferers, burst forth. In this first affectionate impulse tenders of money were made, and had the materials of transportation for their embodied soldiers been at hand, few of them would have declined to embark in the sacred cause of combating for their parents' freedom, upon her own soil. Such was the general, and loyal temper at that æra.

Liniers from the moment of his ascent to power, began to conceive schemes of ambition, and his partizans were zealous to forward them in all points. As the military were under his

own immediate command, his first aim was to attach them to his person and his interests, and instead of lessening the burdens of the treasury, at that time labouring under great pressures, he augmented them by progressive levies, which consisted mostly of individuals who were devoted to his will.

In the first stage of the peninsular war, the details of its operations were various, contradictory, and even in conformity with the political principles of those who circulated them. It would have been most beneficial for the general cause, if the juntas in Spain, that sprang out of her temporary emergencies, had paid more respect to her colonies, upon their earliest constitution, by propagating regular bulletins amongst them under official authority, as well as by a candid declaration of their purposed system towards those remote dependencies. But falsehoods and exaggerations upon the state of things, superseded the truth in Buenos Ayres, and produced the most pernicious effects upon the minds of a people naturally inclined to tumult, and they were long left to themselves too, in total ignorance of their own future destinies.

At this early juncture, Liniers, from his exalted rank, must have been apprized of many facts that never met the public eye, and his politics derived great advantages from such a reserve. At the crisis of abdication set forth by king Charles and Ferdinand, in favour of Buonaparte, he was governor of the capital, and notwithstanding that peremptory

orders had reached him from the council of the Indies at Madrid, which had not then perished amidst the storms of their country, to proclaim the son as their legitimate sovereign, still he suspended their execution, and in his dilemma adopted a temporizing conduct, by announcing to the citizens that the usurper had been compelled to abandon his ambitious projects against Spain, that he had stipulated to guarantee her independence, together with the integrity of her colonies, and that every desirable arrangement was upon the eve of conclusion at Bayonne, between the national deputies, and the French representatives. He further gratified the city by publishing some flattering compliments from Buonaparte, upon its fidelity to the throne.

Those artifices clearly demonstrate his fixed and early predilection for the cause of Napoleon. So vacillating were his measures, that at another time he affected to be the advocate of Carlotta Queen of Portugal and Brazils, who as daughter to king Charles IV, had addressed a proclamation to the public authorities in Buenos Ayres, offering to them her protection until the return of better times ; and urging them to maintain their allegiance to her unfortunate family. But he knew too well the mutual antipathy between the Spaniards and Portuguese, to persist in recommending that new line of policy, for his own was guided by no motive but to perpetuate the existence of his power by any sacrifices, and he continued to waver, till time

and events should develope his truest interests.

Such a crooked policy must have been penetrated in any other country, by colleagues in power, but those who ruled throughout this series of intrigues, were men of weak capacities, and had little experience in the subtleties of the world. Besides, their love of office being stronger than their patriotism, some of them might have been induced to adopt a prudent reserve from the dread of forfeiting their seats. It was from such base materials Liniers had the address, in the plenitude of his reign, to form an extraordinary junta, over which he constitutionally presided; thus engrossing to himself both the military and judicial supremacy. In those stations he guided at will the general feeling, while his spies marked acutely its displays under the various reports that agitated the city.

The arrival of an emissary from Buonaparte, in the autumn of 1808, unfolded those mysterious proceedings in part, and finally led to the downfall of Liniers. This diplomatist with his dispatches, reached Buenos Ayres in safety, and was received by that chief with much distinction. The purport of them was read officially before the members of the Cabildo, and they proceeded from the council of Castille, at that time under French controul. Their most striking heads were, the voluntary resignation of the Spanish throne in favour of king Joseph, recommending those provinces to acknowledge him as their sovereign,

and urging them to take an oath of allegiance to his government. A threat of future responsibility, in case of noncompliance, was most injudiciously annexed against the public authorities, who under a terror of consequences, and a desire to alienate them from their own heads, published the whole to the people.

At this crisis, General Elio, a brave, loyal, but violent man, was governor of Monte Video. He was well acquainted with the real character of Liniers as a soldier, and a statesman, from having served under him during the trying events of the preceding year. With regard to the first, a personal recollection of the want of firmness shewn by that popular warrior, when summoned by General Whitelocke to surrender Buenos Ayres, to which he would have certainly acceded, if he had not been strenuously opposed by Elio himself, had sunk that officer in his opinion, and a thorough acquaintance with his recent proceedings in the capital, and his singular conduct in having solicited the greatest attentions being paid to the ambassador from Joseph, impressed him strongly with suspicions of Liniers's loyalty in the cause of his own sovereign. Elio was not only a staunch adherent to his king, but there was a secret enmity in his determinations, which precipitately resolved to withdraw all obedience to the capital as the seat of treason, and to the mandates of Liniers, whom he denounced to be a traitor. As Monte Video was considered by Spain as the key to Buenos Ayres, and to the upper provinces,

and consequently of the first importance, a portion of its garrison always consisted of regular Europeans, which may in some degree account for its hostility against every measure, that aimed at the subversion of the ruling dynasty, and from its not being a mart of commerce, but a place of arms, it may be rationally inferred, that military habits predominated.

In order to answer the ends of justice, and assimilating with the genius of the people together with his own, Elio disregarded the long standing laws of South America, in this hour of difficulty, by convening a grand provincial junta, of which he had precedents in Spain herself, upon similar occasions. Those contentions were the original causes of a civil war, that ensued upon each bank of the Plata, which raged, as usual, with a spirit of public and individual rancour, and they paved the way ultimately to a successful inroad from their Brazilian neighbours, who availing themselves of these unnatural quarrels, reclaimed and occupied those boundaries of their former dominions.

Liniers had gained a powerful party by his extensive patronage, and imagining that his power had attained a vigour paramount to every obstacle, he began to act with less caution. To give additional splendour to his dignity, he assembled a corps of guards around his person, who were the vassals of his will. He had however some secret enemies in the Cabildo, who at last saw through his designs,

and who conceived it to be the safest and surest expedient, to employ and to diffuse pretexts of his despotic administration, with a view to foment discontents against him, and to weaken his authority. Their schemes were seconded by the arrival of a deputy from the grand council of Seville at Buenos Ayres, a province whose reputation stood high in the general estimation, as having been the first to declare war against France in the name of the nation, as it had now promptly pushed agents throughout the colonies of South America, to counteract the false impressions that might have been made by those of Buonaparte.

As Seville was amongst the first jurisdictions in Spain, possessing within itself high and peculiar privileges, and had been distinguished by its bright example of resistance to the usurper, and as its supremacy had been recognized by many others in the monarchy, so any suggestions uttered from such a respectable source, could not fail to disseminate the finest effects in the minds of a people, who were alike fervent in the royal cause, and who only awaited some official direction by which they could attest the sacred impulse. Accordingly an exposure of the true state of the kingdom was proclaimed, after which all the public authorities of Buenos Ayres, took a solemn oath of allegiance to Ferdinand VII, as their legitimate monarch, and to the grand junta of Seville, as the only existing representative of the crown.

Early in 1809, those members of the Cabildo

who were inimical to Liniers, began to stir in the city, and to call for the dissolution of the present junta, and the election of another, but their plans being discovered, they were sent into exile; a measure however that was not effected without military interference. Strange as it may seem, the Creoles of any respectability took no share in those convulsions, but were inclined to oppose them, and it was to their loyalty alone, that the flames of insurrection were at that period got under.

It was at last found necessary to constitute a central junta, for the intermediate purposes of government, until a more eligible form could be established, the members of which renewed their solemn obligations to the Parent State. One of their primary measures was to depose Liniers, whom they resolved on should be sent to Spain to answer for his misconduct, but whose sentence was revoked into a banishment to Cordova, which was conceded to at the intercession of many Spanish and American friends. Another decree, released from prison several who had been committed for seditious practices under Liniers's viceroyalty, and to confirm their devotion to Spain, Elio was called in to head their troops, while the Marquis Cisneros was cordially hailed as their new viceroy, in the summer of 1809. Those crowded fluctuations naturally created discussion, which gradually led on to partial ferments, and finally to revolution itself, by a concurrence of local, as well as foreign circumstances.

The various forms of dynasty in Spain, from

the junta to the supreme cortez, evinced one series of weak, uncandid, and ungenerous proceedings towards the colonies, and it is only to those early causes, we can ascribe the commotions that have raged in them since 1810. As the Parent fought for her own liberties, it might have been natural to expect she would have sympathized for those of her children, and as they were the chief sinews of her political existence in those days of her maladies, it might have been supposed, that common interest would have suggested the expediency of drawing them closer to her than ever, by the ties of mutual affection. But looking only to internal dangers, the first junta forgot they had foreign dependencies to regulate, and, saving a few assurances of melioration, which never were fulfilled, nothing was done to guide their conduct, or to afford a permanency to their hopes.

A very ungracious omission on the part of the crown, was generally perceived and felt by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, in their not having been honoured by any memorials of royal favour, beyond a few common-place compliments, for their fidelity in having twice repelled from their city, a foreign invader. The neglect operated greatly upon the better orders, and the influence extended also to the military, who were peculiarly sore upon it. The error shook their regard for the Parent State, and attached them in the same degree of proportion to their native country. It was a most unhappy coincidence, when we

reflect upon the turbulent spirit that reigned in all, during those critical times, for instead of some reward flattering to their pride, those dependencies became a scene of proscription, in consequence of orders from Spain, which proceeded from exaggerated representations made to their court by some of the authorities resident in Buenos Ayres.

These were a few, out of many of the progressive steps that conduced to the overthrow of monarchy in the provinces of La Plata, whose feelings were in unison with the rest of their distant fellow-subjects throughout the continent of South America. They arose not out of momentary tumults, nor from transient ferments, out of no grand preconcerted plan amongst them all, but of slow local circumstances in each although the whole of them had been equally offended and injured by the following proclamation, which rallied them around the throne, and the person of their deposed sovereign, being never ratified by the council of regency in Spain, who issued it, nor by the cortes who succeeded to the government.

“ From this moment, American Spaniards, you are elevated to the dignity of freemen; you shall not be hereafter, as you formerly have been, looked at with indifference, distressed by covetousness, and destroyed by ignorance. Your destinies hereafter will not be dependent on ministers, on viceroys, nor on governors; they shall be in your own hands. We will remove all your abuses, all your extortions, and all the evils which have sprung in

your country, from the arbitrary orders of your former government."

It was generally looked for by the colonies, as an immediate result to this pleasing address, that their utmost wishes were on the eve of being realized, and had honour or policy held a seat in the Spanish councils, they might have been retained to her forever, in a state of acknowledged subjection as their common parent, she would have maintained likewise a perpetual sovereignty in their love, and might have commanded their wealthy resources as the tribute of it. But all those glittering prospects of regeneration, served only to render disappointment more bitter, and to foster discontent under it. The sacrifices which the Buenos Ayrians implored, seemed as if they were dictated by providence and nature, were consonant with their respectful duty as subjects, with their dignity as men, and had they been conceded to, their fruits would have been reciprocally shared with their Mother Country. The general outlines of them were, "That a majority in every department of the state, might be drawn from Spaniards domiciliated by property, or from Creoles. That they might be allowed a free trade with all parts of the world, in amity with Spain, and the duties on it, to be imposed by themselves exclusively; that the courts of legal administration might undergo reforms where wanted; that separate legislatures might be fixed throughout the provinces, to impose, and to appropriate taxes, as public necessities might demand, at their

own will ; to enact such laws as might be essential from current occasions of expediency ; those two establishments being always amenable in their proceedings to the approval of the king, whose sanction also was held requisite to convene that annual representation which was to be chosen by the people, and whose functions were to consult and to deliberate for the good of each district." Those were the heads of a reform, which the experience of more than three hundred years of grievance, had proclaimed to be essential for the general welfare, and such as was solicited as a right.

At this alarming juncture, those provinces were beset with French emissaries, whose arts they withstood with a laudable firmness, and although a few proselytes might have been gained, still the great bulk of every order deprecated those national principles. Hopes were cherished by most, that as a secretary of state was nominated in Spain for South America, being preliminary to the formation of a board of administration for the colonies, the plan of which was, that it should consist of forty members, twelve of whom were to have been Creoles, an opportunity would be afforded them, to discuss and to redress their wrongs, through their own representatives ; but that establishment was never completed, nor acted on. The adoption of such a department would have produced the best effects, for one of the chief pretexts of their complaint was, that they were not only debarred from an influence over their own legislation, but that

they were likewise precluded from sending their deputies to Spain, who might have a share in those acts that related to themselves, as well as a voice in framing her dynasty in the days of her misfortunes; privileges which had been imparted to every city in that kingdom.

The harsh proceedings of the new viceroy, Marquis Cisneros, had no origin in an arbitrary exercise of his power, but were in compliance with his orders from home, at the commencement of 1810. He possessed naturally a mild and prudent temper, and if his other colleagues in delegation, had been guided by like moderation, through the convulsed provinces of America, their turbulence and atrocities might have been greatly allayed. But whether arising from a private impulse, or a public duty, the issues were the same, for the deportation of some suspected citizens in Buenos Ayres to Europe, and the imprisonment of others, accelerated the lurking ferment of the people, which being combined with disastrous news from Spain, partly true and false, it broke out into tumult. The legality of the constitution of Spain, at that time identified with the central junta, was also questioned by many sensible individuals, because it had not been assembled by a popular call, but was founded solely by its own resolve. An early convocation of the general cortez, that pillar of Spanish liberty, had it been composed of right materials, would have animated and liberated the nation, and have diffused a confidence in all its efforts, and a veneration for its name, throughout her

most remote dominions, but narrow and injudicious measures, disgraced the proceedings of all the inferior substitutes of her government, which were oftener than once noticed and reprehended by the British ambassador.

Amidst those concurring difficulties, and the supposed overthrow of the reigning authorities in Europe, the Cabildo assumed the reins, in order that they might not be seized by the mob; an alternative which was approved by the viceroy, who voluntarily abdicated the charge. He properly concluded in his own mind, that as the source from whence he had derived his existence was now cut off, that his own had also become vitally extinguished. This transference not being a deed of compulsion, he still continued to give it his support, because all their proceedings were finally, and as usual, submitted for his assent, and bore all the outward marks of the uninterrupted sway of his sovereign.

Matters at last attained to such a height, that to restore tranquillity to the city, constantly disturbed by doubts and uncertainty, it was necessary that some intermediate system of rule, should be announced for the regulation of the whole body. In consequence, a meeting of the principal inhabitants was called to deliberate, in the end of May 1810, who by their own votes, and as organs of the people, constituted by their united consent, an administration under the title of "the provisional and governing junta for the provinces of La Plata." This solemn ceremony was immedi-

ately confirmed by one universal accord, and its magistrates, six in number, with a president and a secretary, installed, who severally took the oaths of allegiance to Ferdinand VII. That new ordinance of things, being suited to the nature of the times, consequently involved in it the supersedure of the higher offices of the crown, who now descended to the rank of private citizens, although the former emoluments of their different appointments continued unimpaired.

Those crowded incidents generated step by step to revolution itself, and if Spain could have boasted of more dispassionate servants in the royal court of Audiencia, than she really possessed during those troublesome scenes, she might perhaps have preserved the loyalty, or at least have stayed the extreme resort of those colonies to the claim of independence. But the private feelings of wounded pride upon their sudden degradation, obtained in them the place of a patient submission, until their country could redress their insults, which were manifested in various ways, little becoming their recent dignities in the state. Mutual animosities began to prevail between them, and the lately created junta, which reached to such a degree, as to cause the immediate removal of the deposed members, an act quite indispensable for the happiness of the community, as well as for the security of the interior dependencies, amongst which they were suspected of inciting discord. A tedious correspondence preceded their embarkation for Spain, after

which the provisional government published a long detail, explanatory of their motives for such a conduct, the most prominent of which was, that the ministers of Audiencia had resisted to comply with the obligation of an oath of fidelity to the new constitution, they still claiming their former exemption from such tests, while in office, although they had become by the change, like all other individuals in the society, and were therefore alike amenable to its laws as the humblest subject. The junta of Buenos Ayres, while they discharged the duty which they deemed incumbent upon them, by such strong measures against those gentlemen as public characters, shewed at the same time, every personal respect to their families, and themselves, but the populace evinced a rancourous spirit in a number of them attacking Don Caspe, a fiscal of that court, upon the evening of the 10th of June, and beating him cruelly, while proceeding through the streets to his home. This wanton contempt of one of the representatives of majesty, foreboded an early storm, and the feelings of the lower classes. It unfolded something more in them than the desire of a common change in their condition ; it was certainly an act of revolution, which the existing laws found themselves too feeble to punish, and the junta too heinous to palliate. The only alternative therefore, which it could adopt, was to remove the cause, by an immediate embarkation of the Marquis Cisneros, the late viceroy, the fiscals, and oidores of the royal

Audiencia, for Spain. Thus was the first spark of rebellion lighted in the provinces of La Plata, which all the loyal declarations of the substituted authorities, could not afterwards extinguish.

The junta qualified this stretch of power by its necessity to maintain the peace of the city and the interior, disturbed by the secret machinations of those exiled members, and defended it upon the ground that they had done no more, under the exigent circumstances of both, than was sanctioned by precedents in old Spain; protesting also their intention to surrender their temporary sway whenever a general congress to deliberate for the general good, could assemble.

As some form of intermediate supremacy was demanded, none could have been better than the election of a junta in Buenos Ayres, for its congeniality with the nature, the usages and genius of the community. They had been coeval with the existence of the monarchy, their duties were understood by many, and their constitution was familiar with the generality, from the great share of the government which they vested in the lower orders. Accordingly such a transition restored tranquillity to the city, and was more secondary in its operations, than all the vigour of the laws, in promoting it. That political experience which those new statesmen wanted was in many respects compensated by strong, common sense, of which their situations stood much in need, in those days of passionate conflict.

The first measure of its sittings was to proclaim their principles, and their leading objects. They were to sustain the provinces in fidelity and allegiance to their beloved sovereign, Ferdinand VII, and his legal successors to the Crown of Spain; coupling such declarations with a solemn oath, that they should be the guides of their firmest zeal, and unceasing efforts, and to testify their affections for their European brethren, South America was held out as an asylum from the misfortunes of their country. Addressing themselves also to the populace, whose tempers they well knew, the governing junta especially recommended them to avoid all dissensions, to observe a respect and confidence in their magistrates in order to preserve their reciprocal union, to attempt no innovations, as being always replete with dangers, no violent or hasty extremes, originating from any factious demagogue, that might be contrary to the laws, but to consider well their actual conditions in every deliberation, lest in trying to remedy apparent evils, they might not accelerate their own downfall. Annexed to all these salutary restraints published to their subjects, they were on the other hand encouraged "to speak with that dignified freedom which emanates from wise, moderate, and generous feelings, and as a farther caution against excess of any kind, they were desired to look to their Brazilian neighbours who were ever on the watch to improve from their internal dissensions." Had the Parent State

availed herself at this æra of their temperate spirit, and authorized the institution of a temporary government in those colonies, now most imperatively demanded by local circumstances, and by the impossibility of a well-arranged representative correspondence with Spain, from such a distance, she might have dictated its powers, and have maintained a weighty balance in it, but instead of a conciliatory mildness, so well suited under the existence of her national calamities, the tenor of every official intercourse was uttered in a mandatorial style, and in place of consulting the interests of those extensive dependencies, from whence alone she could derive her resources, they were either rejected, or entirely forgotten.

Thus abandoned and forlorn, they were compelled to provide for themselves, and as Spain had given the example of successive changes in her own political difficulties, founded upon native customs, and fluctuating expediency, so they followed her footsteps in every doubt that arose during their infant state.

The compulsory abdication of their legitimate king, the usurpation of the Spanish throne by a mean foreigner, and the consequent bastardy of every establishment proceeding out of so impure an original, added to the rapid successes of the French arms in Europe, which they dreaded might be finally turned against themselves, jointly urged on to a disavowal of the supremacy of the Parent State,

and of all her elected authorities, and from a natural principle of self-defence against the ambitious designs of this upstart sovereign, they began to consider themselves fully entitled to manage for themselves.

Such a renunciation on the part of Buenos Ayres, renewed the flames of a civil war with Monte Video, whose rulers again asserted their loyalty to the new dynasty of Spain, in a regency which had been formally installed, and had superseded the grand central junta. They farther intimated to the capital the necessity of its restoring the title of viceroy, in the person of General Elio, who was delegated to fill it, by the heads of that government at home.

But matters had at this time arrived at too great a pitch of irritation, to induce the acceptance of such a proposal; the vicissitudes of events, and the instability of every form, together with the precarious issue, had been so closely crowded, as to make the most serious impressions upon every description of citizens, and it was amidst those contending agencies the sword was drawn, and never sheathed but with the independence of the provinces of La Plata.

It is enough for me to have retraced a few of the leading causes that led on, at mingled dates, to so grand and important a sequel, and it belongs to some historian of those interesting times to detail their affecting and checkered progress. There are only a few acts of the warfare which I deem incumbent to particularize;

the first of which is that of General Liniers, whose name has been so often interwoven with the thread of this narrative, and whose life from its prologue to its close, affords so striking a lesson, how narrow is the span, and how short the passage of unprincipled ambition.

When last we left him he was on the eve of setting out for Cordova as an exile, a sentence that had been humanely commuted, at the pressing instance of many of his Creole friends in Buenos Ayres, for a banishment to Spain, where he would probably have expiated his crimes by his death. But forgetful of such obligations, and once more foregoing his military creed, he voluntarily placed himself at the head of an army in the province of Tucuman, avowedly hostile to that capital which had been the cradle of his glory, and the seat of his power.

As the supreme junta found themselves in command of all the troops that had been levied, when the defection of Monte Video and Cordova from their cause, was announced, they were enabled to throw out detachments against each; one of which bombarded the former place, while the other defeated Liniers, and took him prisoner, after which he was executed near to the latter city, as a conspirator, with others of his adherents.

This nursery of soldiers at the commencement, gave for a time, a most decided advantage to the growth of revolution in La Plata, for being pushed into action, they quickly overran the upper districts, taking

Potosi itself, after having captured General Nieto with his little army, and beating the viceroy of Lima, who had moved a large body towards the Andes, to check their successes upon the fields of Suipacha, in November 1810. They suffered however a most serious reverse at Desaguedro, in June of the following year, which dispersed their troops, and must have annihilated their hopes, if the conquerors had not been diverted to the borders of the Pacific, to quell a fresh insurrection.

Ever since the revolution assumed a warlike shape, Spain has at no time sent out any expedition from her own ports, against the dependencies of La Plata, which have been assailed throughout, only from the sides of Chili and Peru, but they had to wage a still more grievous war, and a far more dangerous enemy in the dissensions of the capital. Notwithstanding the expulsion of the members of the former regime, they still left behind them a few friends who were men of talents and intrigue, and who considered it no crime, as loyalists, to subvert by any means in their power, the new order of things. Those individuals consequently were zealous to foment divisions through every quarter, and although not leagued together, still they were powerfully assisted by the emissaries of Napoleon, while at the same time their ultimate views were diametrically at variance. A few restless tempers likewise existed amongst the Creoles themselves, who being more disposed to rule

than to obey, assumed the specious covering of partizans for liberty.

The secession of Paraguay from the cause of the capital, and a civil war with Monte Video being coincident with those internal discords, they altogether portended an early dissolution of its infant government, but happily for its duration, the imprudent measures of Velasco, who governed that province for the king, reunited it to Buenos Ayres, and a truce restored a peace with that city.

Bold steps now became imperative for general salvation, which were early marked by a decree of exile being passed against every European inhabitant, who did not take the oaths of fidelity to the constituted authorities, and it moreover enjoined that every one should produce a native to guarantee his future conduct, which was also extended to all continental strangers, and suspected persons. Those judicious precautions produced a confidence in the magistracy, and an energy to the national arms, whose checkered successes and misfortunes, offer too wide a range for me even to abridge, but still less to recapitulate them.

Spain possessed far more effective auxiliaries than armies, throughout the dependencies of Buenos Ayres, in their distracted councils, which broke out into universal anarchy, and personal violence. Their triumphs in the field, were perpetually sullied by social treasons, and often was freedom seen in the last agonies of dissolution, from the wounds inflicted upon her by the hands of frantic passion. The sum

of all their evils was seemingly accomplished in the seizure of Monte Video, the commercial key of La Plata and its dominions, by a Portuguese armament from Brazils, whose sovereign scarcely seated firmly on his throne, thus early caught the moment of their disunion to aggrandize his boundaries, at the expence of a war in the new world, with his immediate neighbours, whose national antipathies against his country he so well knew, and whose prevailing principles were so opposite to his own. As the insurrection that raged at this period throughout the dependencies of Buenos Ayres, had previously been removed far from the borders of his dominions, by hostilities having taken a direction towards Chili and Peru, no reasonable pretext could be assigned for such an aggression either on the grounds of danger, or consistency. Accordingly the blow was struck before its motive was proclaimed, which was subsequently justified on the score of right, the humanity of restoring prosperity to a city in a ferment, and of benevolence to all. This early measure of his reign may be pleasant for a time, but it will be bitter in the end, for states are like individuals, who never pardon either the insults or injuries that are offered to them in the days of their adversity. As Brazils too, may be entitled the intervening centre of those parts of South America, and as the choice of peace rested with its government, disturbed at the moment by its own partial commotions, so premature an act, tended not only to lay the foundation

of a perpetual enmity with a people upon their immediate confines, but it also exhibited the most pernicious example to its own subjects, and has authorized by its precedent, the retaliating vengeance of Buenos Ayres, upon some future day, by means either of the fire-brands of rebellion, or of direct invasion. It is not in the nature of things, but that a sanguinary contention must exist between the capital, and any power which may occupy Monte Video, until that fortress, with the northern limits of the river La Plata, are restored to its territories; for that independence which it has finally attained, and is now recognized by some other sovereignties equally free, must be deemed far from being compleat in a commercial view, while an atom of either is possessed by any other supremacy but its own.

It is an easy matter to arrogate the name of an independent empire, but the provinces of Buenos Ayres found the title a crown of thorns, which was fast withering into decay at the close of 1815, not indeed from the elements of war, but of their civil feuds, and had it not been for the enlightened wisdom, the intrepid firmness, and persevering efforts of a band of patriots, whom public danger, and the united voice of a community, suddenly recovered to their reason, had called together in general congress, in the city of Tucuman, its sacred cause must have perished for ages. At this critical hour the national treasury was not only inadequate to satisfy its creditors, but

even to supply the most pressing necessities; public spirit was extinguished in the visionary pursuits of individual freedom, by the breach of every social tie, discord had drowned every worthy feeling, valour was nowhere displayed but in mutual destruction, military insubordination was assumed by every grade of soldiers, and the legislatures were only esteemed, as they permitted licentiousness and crimes, to pass with impunity. Such were the lamentable depravities, both moral and political, that waged over the minds not alone of the meanest, but of the most exalted in those wide dependencies, at the period of which I speak. Even Buenos Ayres itself, which had long maintained a high degree of character by liberal subscriptions from the wealthy, and other tests of loyalty in the general cause, became infected with those maniac passions; the focus of anarchy and suspicions. No wonder then that the dispassionate looked upon this climax of evils with despair, and that the prophetic foreboded universal ruin at the commencement of 1816.

But the members of the general congress quickly retrieved them all by their manly integrity, and by a judicious application of those natural principles which never fail to give unity and vigour to councils. They penetrated the great causes of the disorder, and gradually healed, until at last they cured it. Their authority was soon established by its faithful zeal, and its unremitting energy, no less than by its patriotic origin, while it subdued a cheerful

submission to all its decrees by their prudence and wisdom. After their institution, it must be confessed, excesses appeared in several districts, but such was their vigilance, that the abettors could not ascertain the issue of their own plans, before they were dragged forth to justice, and punished, without being allowed a pause to implore for mercy.

At this juncture of difficulty, a new order of things was determined for the guidance of the state, by that representative body, which was by the creation of a supreme director of it. To this honourable and important office, Don Martin Juan Puerridon was called by their unanimous voice. He was at the time a member of the general congress, and was worthy of the high trust, from a long acquaintance with public business, a thorough information of the secret springs of the government, from having been the clerk and confidant of General Liniers, while in the zenith of his power, and from a perfect knowledge of the tempers and genius of his countrymen. This elevation to the most exalted rank in the commonwealth, called forth the jealousies of his rivals, and the rancour of his personal enemies, but his talents and zeal overcame them all, and stilled every murmur. The first acts of his magistracy displayed them both in an eminent degree, for being aware of some serious dissensions that raged in the province of Salta, between the citizens and soldiers, which had long paralyzed every virtuous effort, he hastened thither in person, and speedily reconciled them; after

which, proceeding to the army, he reformed some abuses in its discipline and appointments, when he finally returned to Tucuman to make a report of his progress. Every observation he had collected of the state of things, assured him that the whole line of their frontiers was unassailable, and that the immense boundaries of Buenos Ayres were not only safe, but sufficiently powerful to publish a solemn declaration of their independence. This memorable act originated with the congress assembled at Tucuman, and was greatly accelerated by the influence and eloquence of Puerridon.

At this crisis, Chili was in possession of the Spaniards, whose liberties as a sister of the same family, were held as precious as their own. Revolutions always bring forth to the world men of distinguished merit, and the highest endowments, who must have otherwise been doomed to endless obscurity. If North America has cause to boast of a Franklin and a Washington, as her first and stoutest champions, so has the South to exult in the enlightened Puerridon, the gallant and modest San Martin; the former of whom has rescued his country from the ruins of convulsion, while the last has not only conquered her own freedom, but has diffused the blessing to a contiguous nation, who was unable to contend for the prize. Puerridon may well be entitled "the Saviour of La Plata," as San Martin has been stamped "the Liberator of Chili."

While the supreme Director was thus em-

ployed in appeasing the contentions of the interior, and in arranging a plan for military operations, the capital was torn afresh by the most violent passions. The details of this volume must have already introduced the reader to the character of its populace, who had ever been permitted to run riot in defiance of the laws. In this sad extreme did the chief magistrate find it upon entering the city, and his firm decision upon the occasion affords a conspicuous example, with an useful lesson to every officiate under such trying contingencies. He instantly announced oblivion for the past, a determination to punish disorder in every rank henceforward, and inducements of distinction to the loyal. By those means, enmities were gradually tranquilized, innovations were suppressed, and good order restored, which have continued unimpaired until the present day.

This happy change being perfected, Puerridon with a comprehensive mind, cast an eye to the state of the armies. Here too his abilities were alike great, from the judicious resolution he adopted between two doubtful and weighty alternatives. The Spaniards were hastening on with a finer force, than had ever yet appeared in the field against the interior provinces, while the troops of Buenos Ayres were widely scattered, but the celerity with which those in the district of Salta were reinforced, opposed a rampart against the enemy, who were beaten and driven back with disgrace, while the great object of the campaign was

obtained by baffling the schemes of the generals, Serma and Marco, against Cuyo, whose devotedness to the common cause, and liberality in sustaining it, led on to the completion of the final and stupendous design of scaling the Andes, and giving liberty to Chili. The successful issue of it not only retrieved those soldiers from the stain of insubordination, but it has also established their military name through the nations, and has raised for them monuments of everlasting glory, upon that new soil of freedom. Still more recent events have consummated the great work of their emancipation, and have added fresh laurels to the victors upon the plains of Maipo, near to Santiago, from whence the Spanish General Osorio, narrowly escaped with a few remains of his invading army, which had landed some weeks before at Talcahuayo, in the confidence of reconquering the province. This last exploit of General San Martin, renewed the stability of the Chilian independent dynasty, which must under any reverse, have been shaken to its base, although it had been proclaimed to the world, and recognized by the oaths, or signatures of the lowest ranks of society, in which formal proceeding all were allowed to share. Not contented with those successes, which have rendered Buenos Ayres and Chili, free and sovereign states, that capital still perseveres in extending liberty to the extremities of Peru, by a direct expedition against Lima itself, combined with the movement of a powerful army under the command of Belgrano,

who must long ere this, have crossed the Desaguero, and have carried the war into the territories of the enemy.

Such have been the brilliant results from the short reign of Puerridon, which has not been less distinguished for a minute attention to the solid interests of the republic. A system of finance was the first to obtrude itself, which has proved beneficial in the renovation of public credit, and its competency to answer not only the calls of the government, but by its process to liquidate the heavy debts that had been necessarily incurred while the more productive districts of the confederacy were held by the enemy. As in every country opposition may be expected to the wisest and purest models, so those now suggested were combated by ingenious writers, but their validity has been fully proved by an excess in the receipts of custom beyond former times; the active currency of a circulating capital, and an accession of revenue to the treasury, while the general taxation has been duly apportioned to all. Particular classes which had been exposed to some impolitic restraints in their calling have been relieved from them, while an extensive melioration is contemplated to the rest, labouring under grievances. Although this new state has ample securities to guarantee any loans which necessity may demand in the confiscated property of the crown, and the unclaimed wastes, still it is a resort which its ministers openly disclaim, who have wisely resolved rather to struggle

against present than future difficulties, and to facilitate their scheme of economy, they have already lopped off those tribes of petty or inefficient officers who had hitherto impoverished the royal funds.

The most benign and sensible enactment of this administration has been evinced, in giving industry with its implements to the tenants of the plains, who have already been supplied with lands on which to fix their habitations; thus encouraging the social connexions, increasing the population, civilizing their manners, and condensing the varied hues of the human race into more definite classes and colours.

Amidst other considerations of reform, the nurseries of literature have drawn the notice which they merit. Schools have been opened in every branch, and some on the most extensive scale, under the guardian protection of the higher authorities, where every science is taught, and the minds of the rising generation will be early trained in those principles which are to direct them throughout their separate destinies in the world. To sum up all, and to exhibit the noblest of triumphs ever offered to intellectual humanity, the downfall of the inquisition, has been coeval with the birth of that republican empire!

Puerridon has been blamed by the designing or inconsiderate, for his tame submission under the insults of the Portuguese, and some have even gone so far as to broach suspicions of his having winked at them from disaffection,

or a want of duty to his country. But the summary review already taken of his eminent services, sufficiently advocates his fidelity and zeal for its welfare ; while forcible arguments are not wanting to establish his acute policy in temporizing with such injuries, while his views were distracted by so many other more momentous objects. Tranquillity once restored, perhaps negotiation, force, or an unforeseen change in human events, may again annex Monte Video to its legitimate owner ; for it is a natural claim which never can prescribe, and Buenos Ayres is the representative from the high attitude which she has assumed in the illustrious ranks of the nations.

What a mass of population, of extent, and riches, has thus emerged into existence from a sea of trouble ! What a sudden change from having been but a few years ago the theatre of misery and despotism, to behold three millions of fellow-creatures at once breaking their chains asunder, and rushing at once into the broad day-light of freedom. Every display is presented to the feelings, but prudence and brevity must curb the reins.

It may not be improper to delineate the limits of dominion, whose future destinies are involved in this mighty revolution. The sketch may deserve the notice of the commercialist, and cannot be unacceptable to the inquisitive student.

The same royal edict which erected Buenos Ayres into a viceroyalty, also greatly aug-

mented the original extent of its boundaries. Before the arrangement, that capital with its province, and those of Paraguay and Tucuman, had been placed under captains general, whose authority was paramount within their respective limits, except in cases of doubt or importance, when they were constitutionally submitted to the viceroy of Peru, for his decision. The great distance that often intervened in those final proceedings, from the seat of justice, and the lapse of time necessarily required before the issue of such appeals could be known, frequently cancelled the operations both of the crown, and the law, and conduced to this reform.

The little town of Moxos upon the Indian frontiers, had been previously the demarkation with Peru, but this geographic revolution annexed to the new viceroyalty, the desolate, though rich province of Atacama, Las Charcas, or Potosi and Carangas, with the district of Cuyo, or Chiquito, denominated New Chili, formerly an appendage of the old, and laying to the east of the Andes, which separate the two. The whole were subdivided into nine intendancies, and by a subsequent ordinance in 1782, into thirty provinces, commencing from the Pampas country, upon the South of Buenos Ayres, and terminating in Carabaya, upon the north of the great lake of Titicaca, which is the fixed confine with Peru, as it seems likewise determined by nature, in the chain of Cordillera, named Vilcanota, which fringe upon the provinces of Canes and Car-

ches, both within the Peruvian viceroyalty. Included too with those dispositions, were the savage missions of Los Moxos and Chiquitos, which compleat the northern extremity of La Plata. The entire detail forms nearly a square, its proportions being about fifteen hundred miles long, above seven in medium breadth, and contains somewhat under 1,100,000 inhabitants, who may be called christians, besides an unascertained number of Indians. The whole occupy a space of about 145,000 square leagues, and the uttermost points of direction may be traced from Cape Lobos, its southernmost limit, to the most distant settlements upon the river Paraguay in the North, and from Cape St. Anthony, at the South-east mouth of the Rio de La Plata, to the ridge of mountains that separate it from Chili proper, altogether containing the varieties of climate, incidental to twenty-five degrees of latitude, and consequently from their positions, all the productions of the temperate and the torrid zones.

Before the war which has established the emancipation of those extensive regions from the crown of Spain, there were constantly worked in them thirty mines of gold, twenty-seven of silver, seven of copper, two of tin, and seven of lead, which yielded a clear revenue to the king, of four millions and a half of piastres, at three shillings and seven-pence each, which a knowledge of mineralogy, and an economy in its processes, may assuredly treble. But those countries can supply from their

boundless vegetation, and animal products, far more precious returns than their metals to a manufacturing nation like ours, in their raw materials for our workmanship, and there is little doubt but the wisdom and policy of this wide and rising republic, from a long experience of their evil tendency upon population and manners, will shut those dens of pestilence and avarice, and raise a hardy race of freemen, who can handle the plough as well as the sword, while its rulers must draw down the blessings of heaven upon their heads, for having released thousands of wretched bondsmen, from those dungeons of poverty and sorrow. Some sacrifice worthy of that over-ruling providence, who has conducted them through so many threatening storms, and placed them at last in safety, is surely due from them, and there is none more acceptable in his eye, than the incense of compassion and benevolence being rendered to the most forlorn, and the meanest of his creatures.

The noble aids which Buenos Ayres has afforded to their brethren of Chili, amidst their own pressures, are not only fine specimens of affection, but have added to their own glory, and must render them amiable in the sight of mankind. They are strong pledges too of high honour, in all their future relations with the world. As internal peace and union are the best sureties for the permanency of any government, so are they most peculiarly required in one just in its infancy.—They cannot otherwise be acknowledged, nor respected

as purely independent and free, but as tranquillity has long been restored within their borders, as their frontiers are defined, and no enemy dares to approach them, as their final aim had no contemplation beyond the attainment of their own liberties, and involved not the issues of freedom to the whole continent of South America, and as a firm dynasty in every branch is now established and recognized by all its subjects, therefore the states of La Plata may be truly ranked amongst sovereign nations.

Their fellow Americans in the north most probably have acknowledged them as such ere now, and they have long employed their authorized agents in every quarter, to protect their commerce, to insinuate into the esteem of those natives, and to extend the correspondence of their countrymen. England too has many of her enterprising adventurers scattered abroad, but she has no public advocates for her interests, none to move the prejudices of a large and yet ignorant community in her favour, and not like as in the territories of Brazils, a conservador to whom her merchants can fly for counsel and support under wrongs.

But delicacy prohibits farther enlargement upon this topic, when we consider the honourable motives which forbid, at present, so beneficial an intercourse.

A very recent decree, emanating from the department of state in Buenos Ayres, and officially subscribed by Puerridon, the supreme director of it, holds out a very considerable re-

duction of duties upon its imports, and also evidences an important diminution in the public debt. With a view to annihilate smuggling, which it appears was gaining ground, and to give increase and prosperity to commerce, the following regulations constitute the tariff of the custom-house, and the proportions of payment, from which particulars it may be inferred, that paper money forms a portion of the present circulating capital in the state.

1. The payment of the duties is to be made, two third parts in money, and one third in public bills.

2. The custom-house is to receive for these, two third parts of the duty, all such of the public bills as have been issued by the supreme government, on which is expressed upon the face of them, that they are to be current instead of cash.

3. Credit for the duties is to be given to the importer, on taking possession of the goods, twenty days for the half amount, and forty for the remainder.

4. For the security of the state, the custom-house officers are to have a guarantee satisfactory to them, which is to be required without distinction of persons.

5. This article provides for the mode of payment, when the importer neglects to discharge the duties.

6. The reduction of eight per cent, formerly granted in favour of South Americans, is reduced to four, and also with respect to others similarly favoured.

N. B. The reduction adverted to in the second paragraphs of the preceding decree, is to the amount of twenty-five per cent upon all the existing duties.

No city on the globe presents a more enviable importance than Buenos Ayres at this moment. She has not only conquered her own destinies, but the liberties of Chili, and is about to spread those blessings over Peru. Within the narrow retrospect of eleven years, she has twice repelled a foreign invader from her walls, thus preserving herself independent from the yoke of a stranger, while she continued faithful to Spain so long as the ties of nature could maintain themselves. Neither Carthage nor Constantine, so famed in ancient story, nor Boston nor Philadelphia, those early cradles of North American liberty, can excel her in preeminence. A flourishing commerce with the universe has now opened upon her; the spell of superstition is broken, and industry with contentment, are seen throughout her plains. Thither, with the released bondsman hearing of the news, will hasten down from his recesses, the untutored Indian, who will in time form, with all the other tints of the South American race, one united nation, one friendly community, and one happy family.

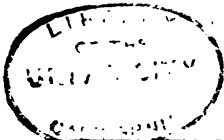
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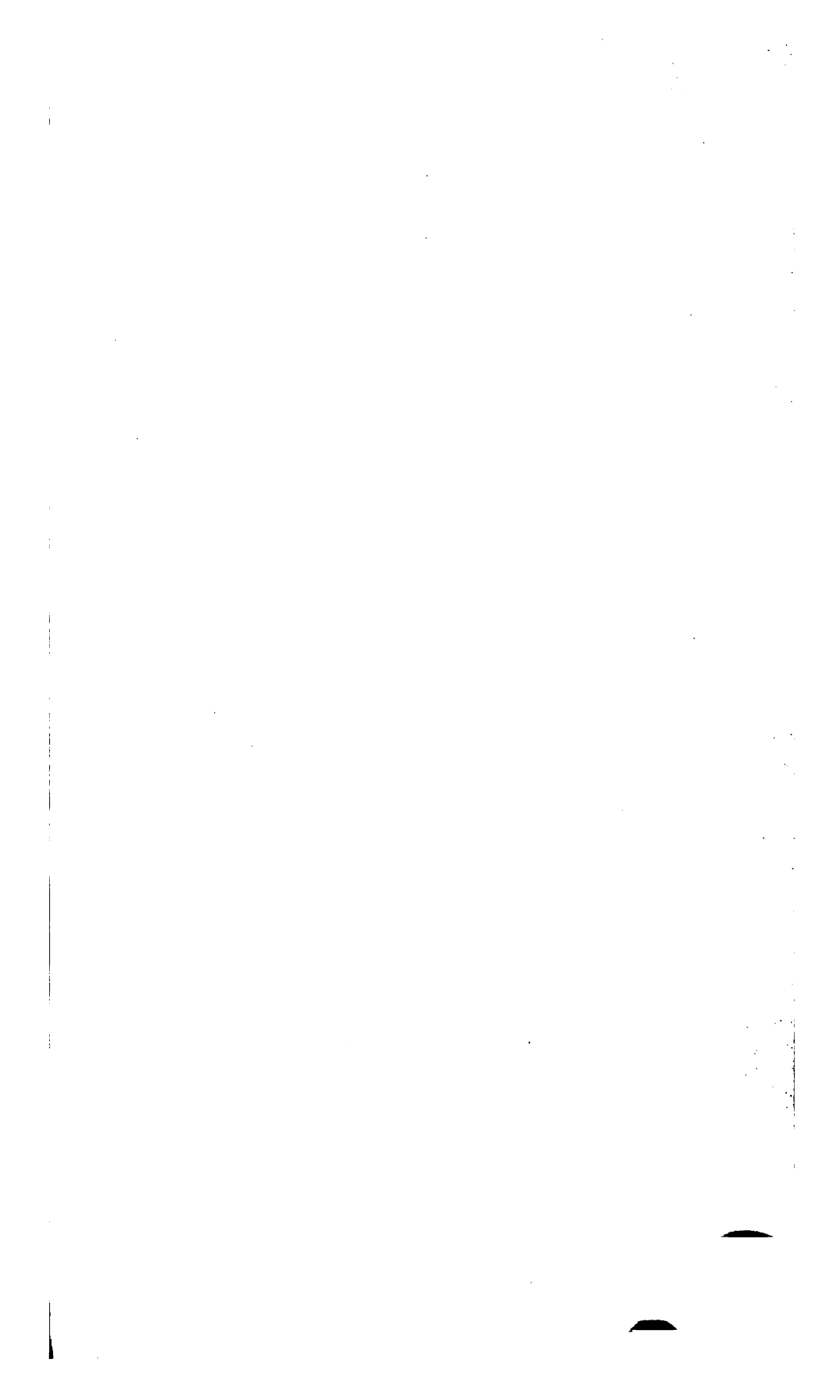
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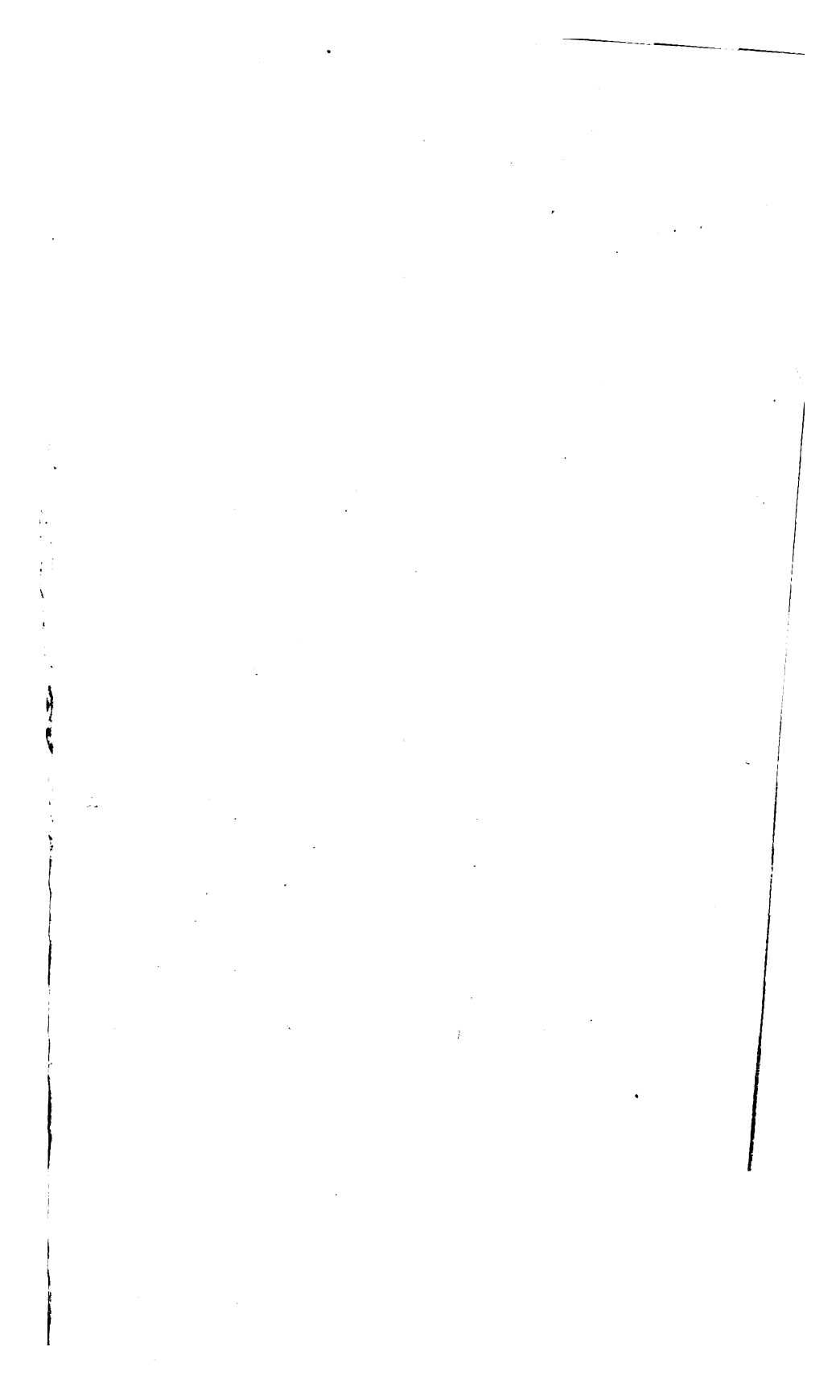
ERRATA

Page 16, line 19; for outports, read outposts. 32, 24, for Banagon, read Barragon. 36, 24, ditto. 38, 18, ditto. 72, 1, for seclusions, read seclusion. 84, 31, erase ultimately. 127, 11, for minute, read minute's. 166, 14, for when, read where. 189, 11, for encompassed, read encompassed. 209, 18, for it, read them. 240, 17, for particular, read particularly. 301, 13, for Juntos, read Juntas. 303, 14, for Junto, read Junta.



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